

employ honest subordinates whom they know to be given to no noteworthy fault; and let them be sure about it, for, if otherwise, they will follow the same road as the rest. After the crier had proclaimed the reason of his death, Picado's head was cut off, and he was buried in the church of our Lady of Mercy.

Don Diego, by advice of his captains, ordered Don Alonso de Montemayor to go to the cities of Guamanga and Cuzco to collect men, and arm them against any need that might arise.

News reached Lima that the Captain Alonso de Alvarado, on receiving tidings of the death of the Marquis, had assembled the forces that were with him and with Pedro Barroso at Guanuco, and those with Juan Pérez de Guevara at Moyobamba, and that he felt himself strong enough, with their support, to raise the banner of the King pending Vaca de Castro's entry into the Realm. This news caused great consternation, although Juan de Herada, Cristóbal de Sotelo, and the other leaders of the Chile party, did not wish to have encounters or battles, nor to do more, if his Majesty would not pardon the murder of the Marquis, than retire into the interior of Chile. There were among them, indeed, gentlemen of such determination, and soldiers of such mettle, that if envy among them had not gnawed into their entrails, with the desire to excel each other even unto death, they might have prevailed—outside the Realm. But within the same, holding it as they did by tyranny, they could not have avoided the punishment which God and the world are wont to mete out to those who usurp such a position, and commit similar atrocities.

Well, soon after Captain García de Alvarado had returned from the cities of Truxillo and San Miguel, a soldier who was much favoured by Francisco de Chaves had taken an Indian girl from another soldier who was

very friendly with Captain Cristóbal de Sotelo, who, as we have written, was Governor's Lieutenant in Lima. As Sotelo was very punctilious in affairs that concerned his honour, and anxious not to condone any injury, and the said soldier, moreover, was personally known to him, he sent to ask Captain Francisco de Chaves very civilly that, the soldier having taken the girl from him to whom she belonged with Chaves' assent, he would order her to be restored; since no other course would be seemly. Francisco de Chaves, with much arrogance and little courtesy, abused the man who was sent with the request, saying that it was not his pleasure that the soldier who had taken the girl should return her, for that she was his, and that a constable had better not be sent, because he would be ill-treated and would not get what he came for. Sotelo was wise, and recognized the evils that might arise from misunderstandings among the captains. Tempering his anger with the prudence of his character, he sent a second time to request that the girl might be returned to him to whom she belonged, and that if the other maintained that she was his, there should be an appeal to justice, which would not be denied to the rightful owner. Francisco de Chaves again answered rudely that the girl should not be returned by him who had her. Cristóbal de Sotelo was much enraged that he should be thus set at nought by Francisco de Chaves, and said that he felt great regret that there should be discord among them and party quarrels from which great evils must arise. He added that he was very glad he was not one of the murderers of the Marquis, and that if he followed Don Diego it was owing to the friendship he had for his father, which would not make him fail to obey the commands of his Majesty. After saying this he declared further that Francisco de Chaves must not think, that because with him was the courtesy and with Chaves the lack of it, he would come out of it in spite of Don Cristóbal.

Saying this before five or six of his friends, he went forth to Chaves' quarters to take away the girl, and Chaves' life, if he should defend it, or else, in testimony of his sense of right, to lose his own.

Oh misery! what is this that you do? Oh tyranny! what evils do you bring in your train? And you, oh captains of my nation! What moves you to bore and slash each other's entrails with the sharp poniard, or cutting sword? How I lament and deeply deplore that distinguished Spaniards should die for such sordid causes. Through whatever nation or region you might travel it should be said that you justly merit having been born on the banks of the Ebro. And only for others' advantage have you been thus ill advised. For without having fully discovered the secrets of the land, nor having made the barbarians to understand the service required from them, you raise wars in which most of yourselves are killed in evidence of your own folly, that new comers may triumph by your conquests and settlements, in which they have taken no part.

But to return to our narrative. On Cristóbal de Sotelo starting to go to the house of Francisco de Chaves, one of those present went to Juan de Herrada, to tell him, so that he might personally intervene and settle the quarrel; and prevent those captains from killing each other over an Indian girl. When Juan de Herrada heard this, he went to prevent what was thought might happen. He called Cristóbal and said that he did not wish him to go forward, for it was not consistent with his dignity that an Indian girl should move him to go against Francisco de Chaves. Sotelo replied that he had already done what was required of a gentleman in communicating with Chaves, who had not in any way acknowledged his error, but had abetted the abduction of the girl, and had even declared that if a constable came to his house he would only get a drubbing. Juan de Herrada told him to remain at home, for that he

himself would go to the house of Francisco de Chaves for the girl. On hearing this Sotelo stayed in his house; Juan de Herrada then went to that of Francisco de Chaves, and demanded the girl, being very angry. Though it went against the grain, he took her from the house and out of the keeping of the soldier who had taken her, and gave her to her first proprietor.

CHAPTER XLIII

How the Captains Francisco de Chaves and Francisco Niñez were made prisoners, and how Francisco de Chaves was put to death.

NOW this was the time when the funeral obsequies of the old Marquis ought to have been celebrated, but rather was it signalised by the commencement of the shedding of the blood of those who had spilled so much of his that his life ebbed away. The youthful Governor began to taste the bitter draughts which tyranny carries in its toils, for with it neither does friend prove loyal nor enemy merciful. Better had it been for him and his accomplices to await the Judge's coming and not have put the Marquis to death in that atrocious way. Even after his death no honour was shown him, as the reader has seen. On the contrary, the body was thrust into the bowels of the earth as if it had been that of a vile and contemptible man. With reference to this I would quote that speech of the Constable of Castille, Grand Master of Santiago, Don Alvaro de Luna. Seeing that there was a large hook placed where he was to be put to death, he asked the executioner what it was there for. The executioner said that it was to hang his head on after he was dead. Don Alvaro replied, snapping his fingers, "After I am dead do what ye will with the

body and head," meaning that at the moment of decapitation his soul would pass to where his deeds during this life had merited that it should.

Captain Francisco de Chaves, finding that Juan de Herrada had taken the Indian girl out of his house, against his will, took it as an affront, and an insult to himself. Arming himself and mounting his horse he went to the house of Don Diego de Almagro. They say that Chaves told Don Diego to take back the horse and arms he had received at his hands, but now brought back, for that he wanted them no longer, nor looked upon Don Diego as his friend. One insult had been put upon him by Don Diego's father and he had paid him well for it, the other was from the son, and he would pay him too. They say that he alluded to what happened at Guaytara when he was suspected of dealing with Hernando Pizarro, but this I was never able to verify nor can I believe, for Francisco de Chaves always showed himself a loyal friend to the Adelantado and an enemy to Hernando Pizarro.

Those who were in the room with Don Diego, believing that rage had made Chaves say those things, tried to appease him, admonishing him that he ought to see that the girl had been taken from her owner by one who had no right to her, and that to return her was quite proper. There could be no reason in throwing away the friendship of Don Diego, nor would it be reckoned to his credit. But he answered that he would never be a friend of Don Diego again, nor would he uphold his cause. When Juan de Herrada heard this he discreetly felt that it would not be wise to leave such a man free, when he had so openly refused to retract what he had done. He wanted to arrest him on the spot, but did not dare to do so because Francisco Núñez de Pedroso was a great friend of Chaves, and he was quartered in the barracks as captain of the troops, and it seemed possible he might take Chaves' part. So he went

covertly to where Francisco Núñez de Pedroso was and asked him to go and speak with Francisco de Chaves, since he was his friend, and persuade him not to talk so defiantly; and he told him what had happened. Francisco Núñez, believing that the intention of Juan de Herrada was no other than what he said, cheerfully consented and went at once and asked Francisco de Chaves, in the presence of Don Diego and the other captains, not to cease from being a friend of Don Diego; but he was unable to move Chaves from his resolve. On Don Diego and Juan de Herrada seeing this they turned to those present and asked what they advised. García de Alvarado answered that since Francisco de Chaves refused to be a friend of Don Diego they should arrest him. When Chaves heard this, looking towards García de Alvarado, he said that if that was his opinion they had better arrest him and there and then put him in irons. Francisco Núñez declared that if they arrested Don Francisco de Chaves, they must do the same with him.

For these reasons, or because he was on bad terms with Francisco de Chaves, when Francisco Núñez used those words Juan de Herrada said: "Be it as you order," and they were both immediately arrested and the irons clapped on them. For Herrada knew that Chaves was annoyed at his being General instead of Gómez de Alvarado (it is said that Herrada had been a servant to Don Pedro, Gómez's brother), because Chaves had said that it was wrong, where there were so many gentlemen, for Herrada to be General, and that for his own part he would not put up with it. When night came, as the prisoners had friends, they were sent on board a ship that was in the port lest any disturbance should occur. With them the bachelor Enríquez was sent because, as was afterwards said, it was by his advice that Francisco de Chaves had taken the Indian girl, and he had been fomenting enmity against

Don Diego. Presently, next morning, there *was* some disturbance at the imprisonment of Francisco de Chaves and Francisco Núñez, some denouncing it, while to others it seemed well. There were debates and wrangling. When Juan de Herrada knew of this, he took counsel with some whom he deemed friends, and they agreed that Francisco de Chaves should be killed and Francisco Núñez banished. Next day, by order of Don Diego and Juan de Herrada, they went to the port very secretly, that it might not be known, to put Francisco de Chaves to death. The latter was now sorry for what he had done, but when they told him to confess, he was amazed. It is reported that he said that he had two seats, one in heaven and the other in hell, and that the divine Power had already decided which he must go to ; he, therefore, did not want to confess. Others aver that what he said was that since his own friends were killing his body the devil might take his soul. It is likely enough that he may have said either of those things, for it could not be believed that a man who had shown so little respect for the holy sacrament was to meet with any easier death than this. Having said it, he was killed by the executioner, and the bachelor Enríquez fared in the same way. Francisco Núñez was banished in the same ship on board of which Doña Inés, the wife of Francisco Martín de Alcántara, and the children of the Marquis had been embarked, for reasons which were examined and approved.¹ They also banished Diego de Peralta, a citizen of La Paz, one who has rendered his Majesty much service; and it was ordered that they should all go in that ship.

As it was now many days since Pero Alvarez Holguin had taken charge of the city of Cuzco and turned out Gabriel de Rojas, who held it for Don Diego, and was col-

¹ They seem to have been landed at Payta, near which port they had an interview with Vaca de Castro.

lecting men to go forth and seek for those who had killed the Marquis, the news travelled to Guamanga, and it was soon known in the city of Lima. When Don Diego and his followers heard it they were much alarmed at finding that Alonso de Alvarado on the one hand, and Pero Alvarez on the other, had sided against them. They consulted together, and it was determined that they should march into the mountains and rout Pero Alvarez, if they should meet him, or else proceed to the city of Cuzco. When this had been settled, they collected all the arms and horses they could, to set out from the city of Lima well prepared, and they appointed captains, ensigns, and the rest of the officers who were to have charge of the war.

CHAPTER XLIV

How, when the death of the Marquis was known at Plata, they raised the banner of the King, and how the captain Pedro Anzures, and other residents there, set out to join Pero Alvarez Holguin.

AT the time of the death of the Marquis, the Captain Pedro Anzures was his lieutenant in the town of Plata. When he set out to penetrate into the country of the Chunchos, as already related, he received such important information respecting the Rio de la Plata and the many populous provinces on its banks that he desired to discover some way into them, which would not be too difficult, by crossing the Andes. From the time when the Marquis appointed him his Lieutenant, he amply showed his valour in his wars with the Indians, and his prudence in maintaining the peaceful relations they had promised to abide by, not consenting that any harm should be done to them. In the rich mines of Porco there were Spaniards who extracted a quantity of silver. Entertaining the desire

Don Diego. Presently, next morning, there *was* some disturbance at the imprisonment of Francisco de Chaves and Francisco Núñez, some denouncing it, while to others it seemed well. There were debates and wrangling. When Juan de Herrada knew of this, he took counsel with some whom he deemed friends, and they agreed that Francisco de Chaves should be killed and Francisco Núñez banished. Next day, by order of Don Diego and Juan de Herrada, they went to the port very secretly, that it might not be known, to put Francisco de Chaves to death. The latter was now sorry for what he had done, but when they told him to confess, he was amazed. It is reported that he said that he had two seats, one in heaven and the other in hell, and that the divine Power had already decided which he must go to ; he, therefore, did not want to confess. Others aver that what he said was that since his own friends were killing his body the devil might take his soul. It is likely enough that he may have said either of those things, for it could not be believed that a man who had shown so little respect for the holy sacrament was to meet with any easier death than this. Having said it, he was killed by the executioner, and the bachelor Enríquez fared in the same way. Francisco Núñez was banished in the same ship on board of which Doña Inés, the wife of Francisco Martín de Alcántara, and the children of the Marquis had been embarked, for reasons which were examined and approved.¹ They also banished Diego de Peralta, a citizen of La Paz, one who has rendered his Majesty much service; and it was ordered that they should all go in that ship.

As it was now many days since Pero Alvarez Holguin had taken charge of the city of Cuzco and turned out Gabriel de Rojas, who held it for Don Diego, and was col-

¹ They seem to have been landed at Payta, near which port they had an interview with Vaca de Castro.

lecting men to go forth and seek for those who had killed the Marquis, the news travelled to Guamanga, and it was soon known in the city of Lima. When Don Diego and his followers heard it they were much alarmed at finding that Alonso de Alvarado on the one hand, and Pero Alvarez on the other, had sided against them. They consulted together, and it was determined that they should march into the mountains and rout Pero Alvarez, if they should meet him, or else proceed to the city of Cuzco. When this had been settled, they collected all the arms and horses they could, to set out from the city of Lima well prepared, and they appointed captains, ensigns, and the rest of the officers who were to have charge of the war.

CHAPTER XLIV

How, when the death of the Marquis was known at Plata, they raised the banner of the King, and how the captain Pedro Anzures, and other residents there, set out to join Pero Alvarez Holguin.

AT the time of the death of the Marquis, the Captain Pedro Anzures was his lieutenant in the town of Plata. When he set out to penetrate into the country of the Chunchos, as already related, he received such important information respecting the Rio de la Plata and the many populous provinces on its banks that he desired to discover some way into them, which would not be too difficult, by crossing the Andes. From the time when the Marquis appointed him his Lieutenant, he amply showed his valour in his wars with the Indians, and his prudence in maintaining the peaceful relations they had promised to abide by, not consenting that any harm should be done to them. In the rich mines of Porco there were Spaniards who extracted a quantity of silver. Entertaining the desire

I have mentioned, to discover that land and great river, Pedro Anzures had gone, with some people, as far as the country of the Juries, which is to the east, to ascertain the character of the country in that direction as a practicable route for penetrating further. In that year, Captain Garcilaso de la Vega and Luis Perdomo were *alcaldes* of the town of Plata, Pedro de Hinojosa and Diego López de Zúñiga, Francisco de Almendras and Juan de Caravajal were *regidores*, and Antonio Alvarez was *alguazil mayor*. A man came to the town as a messenger from Gómez de Tordoya; for Sancho Perero, sent by Pero Alvarez, had not yet arrived. He told the *alcaldes* the news of the death of the Marquis. They all received it with the very greatest sorrow, and, although they would have liked to keep it secret until the return of Pedro Anzures, they could not do so, for it became known at once to all the inhabitants. They all felt grief that a Governor of the King, and a captain so old in the conquests of the Indies, should have been so barbarously murdered. There was a great excitement among them, for they did not know what course to pursue, nor whether Pedro Anzures would return from his expedition or not. The municipal officers assembled, and after having raised the banner for the king, they agreed to send a messenger to Pedro Anzures begging for his immediate return, as the tidings required it. They sent the news by one Marchena, who travelled quickly until he reached the place where Pedro Anzures was. The latter was deeply grieved, and returned quickly to the town, where several meetings of the municipality were held, but nothing was settled. For the *regidores* wanted to nominate that righteous cavalier Gonzalo¹ de la Vega as captain, or else Diego de Rojas. But Pedro Anzures maintained that it was his place, because he had been Lieutenant there. At these meetings

¹ *Sic*—a mistake for Garcilaso.

there were many bickerings, and Pedro Anzures had words with the *alcalde* Perdomo.

Pedro de Hinojosa spoke so well at one of the meetings and with such effect that all determined to think of nothing but the King's service, and agreed that since Pedro Anzures was a gentleman and a gallant one who had been the Marquis' Lieutenant, he should be Captain. Pedro Anzures then raised the banner of his Majesty, and delivered it to Alonso de Loaisa as ensign. Before this the captain Garcilaso had gone to the mines at Porco to collect what men and arms might be there, and silver to divide amongst those who were about to go to serve the King. Soon all were in readiness. Sancho Perero, the messenger sent by Pero Alvarez Holguin, then arrived and related to those gentlemen what had taken place, and how Holguin had been chosen General to put down the tyranny of Almagro. Having delivered the letters to Pedro Anzures, he went back with others that were entrusted to him. When those who were to go were ready to start, and mounted on good horses, Pedro Anzures addressed them in a gracious speech, appealing to them to bear in mind that they were gentlemen and servants of the King, and that the evil committed by the men of Chile in tyrannizing over the country was very grave and deserving of severe punishment, which they, as loyal men, must inflict. Having added other observations on the subject, Captain Pedro Anzures left Francisco de Almendras as Chief Justice, Gabriel de Mendoza as *alcalde* and Antonio Alvarez as *alguazil mayor*. He then set out from the loyal town with fifty-two horsemen, among whom there went :

Garcilaso de la Vega	Lope de Mendieta
Pedro de Hinojosa	Alonso de Loaisa (ensign)
Gaspar Rodríguez de Cam-	Diego Centeno
po Redondo ¹	Luis Perdomo

¹ Brother of Pedro Anzures.

Alonso de Mendoza	Francisco de Tapia
Juan de Caravajal	Hernán Núñez de Segura
Diego de Rojas	Luis de Rivera
Alonso de Camargo ¹	Alonso Pérez Castillejo
Lope de Mendoza	Francisco Retamoso
Diego Lope de Zúñiga	Hernando de Aldana
Diego de Almendras	Alonso Manjarrés

and others to the number I mentioned.

They proceeded on their journey until they arrived at the villages "del Rey," whence, leaving the baggage with some people, Captain Pedro Anzures went by way of Hatun-colla to the city of Arequipa, to collect all the men and arms that he could. He got there just when Sergeant-major Francisco Sánchez, was coming in with the men sent by Pero Alvarez Holguin.

As the night had not yet run its course nor the day shown any sign of light, and the two parties entered the place one on one side and the other on another, loosening their arquebuses, they well nigh came to blows. They recognized each other in time, however, and were rejoiced. Though some showed themselves neutral in that city others joined the captains in the service of the King without wavering, and took the road with them back to Cuzco. On the way, Loaisa gave up the office of ensign under Pedro Anzures, and Diego Centeno took it over and carried the banner into Chupas. Finally, they all arrived safely at Cuzco. The Captain Pero Alvarez Holguin, with Gómez de Tordoya and the others, gave them a hearty welcome. There was much rejoicing at Cuzco, and all promised obedience to Pero Alvarez, and accepted him as General. He nominated Pedro Anzures as Captain of Lances, with Garcilaso de la Vega.

¹ The captain of the ship that arrived from Spain. See p. 137.

CHAPTER XLV

Of the things that were done by Captain Alonso de Alvarado after he had raised the banner of the King.

IT has already been related how the captain Alonso de Alvarado held it to be a great injury to the service of the King that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro should have been put to death; and here he had raised the banner in the royal name, and collected troops to strengthen his position in the highlands where he was awaiting the arrival of the President Vaca de Castro, who, it was now publicly known, was coming as Judge of *residencia* in the affairs of Almagro and Pizarro. As the news spread, Don Diego de Almagro and Juan de Herrada wrote to persuade Alvarado to espouse their side, to which he answered as already stated. When it became known in the cities of Trujillo and San Miguel that Alonso de Alvarado had raised the banner in the name of the King, some joined him who, holding the deed done by Don Diego in abhorrence, did not wish to be on a side which would support his party or agree in its views, but were unanimous in the service of the King. When Alonso de Alvarado knew that García de Alvarado had gone to Piura, he wished to rout him before he could return to Lima; for if this could be achieved it would be a great disaster for the men of Chile, who had such confidence in his prowess. With this determination Alvarado ordered a soldier named Carrillo, who had gone to Trujillo for arms, as we have related, to proceed to Caxamarca, where Melchor Verdugo, and to Guamachuco, where Aguibera, were proprietors, and had some parties of Indians who knew the country well, to get them to help him, as he wished to defeat

and kill García de Alvarado and those who were with him. Verdugo wished to be neutral, by what they say, and answered Carrillo equivocally. They also say that when García de Alvarado passed by there, he brought him one or two very good horses and some arquebuses, and that it was by Verdugo's advice that García de Alvarado hurried his departure. And furthermore, that although Verdugo received letters from Alonso de Alvarado calling upon him to join, he would not do so.

When Alonso de Alvarado found that he had not managed to entrap García de Alvarado, knowing that a great force was being assembled at Lima to march against him and to find the Judge Vaca de Castro, he decided to depart from the city where he was, to join the Judge, who was believed to be now in Quito. He marched as far as Cotabamba, where he halted because he deemed the place strong, and one which could not be attacked by his enemies, and whence, should they come in force, he could retreat further inland. He then sent other messengers to Vaca de Castro, reporting that he, Alvarado, and his followers were well, and urging the Judge to come quickly, because as soon as the masses knew of his arrival in the Realm many would come forward to join him and serve the King.

Let us now leave Alonso de Alvarado, and say that after the captain Pero Alvarez Holguin had arrived at the city of Cuzco, and been publicly received there as General and proclaimed by the sound of trumpets in the great square, he devoted himself to preparing arms and getting men together. When Pedro Anzures arrived he did the same. Don Alonso de Montemayor then arrived in that city. He had come by order of Don Diego de Almagro to speak to Holguin on his behalf. He was to say that he was aware of the movements which were taking place; that, putting other things aside, Holguin should conform to his party; and that as he had always shown himself a

friend of the Adelantado Almagro and his supporters he should now be one of the avengers of his death. If Pero Alvarez had not entered Cuzco he should take the city for him (Don Diego); and, collecting all the arms and men possible, he should then return to Lima. Don Alonso did not put forward any of these arguments, for when he arrived at Cuzco he found Pero Alvarez within, and although he spoke some things to him on Don Diego's part, he, like a prudent cavalier, was very guarded in what he said, and evinced a desire to serve the King. But Pero Alvarez arrested him for the time being, and had a secret watch kept on him to prevent him from returning to Lima.

CHAPTER XLVI

How the President Vaca de Castro quitted Popayán, to go to the city of Quito.

WE recounted in former chapters how, while the Licentiate Vaca de Castro was in the city of Popayán, Lorenzo de Aldana brought news of the death of the Marquis Pizarro in the city of Lima at the hands of the men of Chile, and how, when this was known to Vaca de Castro, he wrote to the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who was then at Cali, desiring him not to go to the city of Cartago, nor to Anzerma for the present. Vaca de Castro was very anxious to know for certain if the news was true. At this juncture one Ordas, and Juan de Valdivieso, citizens of Cuzco, arrived, who, jointly with Diego Maldonado and other settlers in Peru, had embarked at Panamá for that Realm. When they had reached the coast of Peru they received the news of the Marquis's death; and, as the Judge had landed at the port of Buenaventura, they gave up their voyage further southwards, and went inland to

Quito to find him. Thence they went on to Pasto, and, together with Villalva, they proceeded to Popayán, where they found Vaca de Castro, and related to him what was going on; how Don Diego had assumed the rôle of governor of the realm; how he had sent one of his captains, named García de Alvarado, to range the coast, and even to get the Judge himself into his clutches in order to detain or kill him; how he had taken and killed Alonso de Cabrera and others, and had captured and carried back the Licentiate García de León a prisoner. When Vaca de Castro heard this news he became quite convinced that the Marquis had been murdered, and that Don Diego was set up as Governor. He wrote again to Belalcázar therefore, explaining that the Marquis had been murdered, and that Don Diego had shamelessly and insolently got himself installed as Governor, and had been so received at Lima. Vaca de Castro called upon Belalcázar, who had always been a faithful servant of his Majesty and was the King's Governor and Captain-general, to collect as many men and arms as possible and march to Popayán, where the Judge awaited him.

People allege that when Belalcázar read this letter from Vaca de Castro, he was much worried, and that it was more from fear than from good-will that he obeyed the summons. This seems likely, because he always showed himself lukewarm in whatever things occurred, and in the letters he sent to the cities nearest the coast he wrote that he was going back because he could not do otherwise, but would soon return. He had another reason for wishing to go down stream but not up, which was that according to positive news received at Cali, Captain Jorge Robledo, the founder of those towns and cities, with all those who had been his followers before, had espoused the royalist cause, and the Adelantado was anxious to arrest him. However, Belalcázar replied to the Licentiate that he would be happy

to come to Popayán at once and do what might be required of him, and that he would bring as many men as he could, although he then had very few in the city. He got ready as best he was able, and set out for the city of Popayán, accompanied by some of his servants and friends, and other inhabitants of Cali. At Popayán he was received by the President Vaca de Castro.

Having assembled the principal people who were there, the Licentiate Vaca de Castro displayed a Royal *Cedula* of his Majesty, whereby it was decreed that if the Marquis Pizarro should die during Vaca de Castro's voyage to Peru, or after his arrival there, he, Vaca de Castro, was empowered to take over the government of the provinces and be his Majesty's Governor there, with the same full powers as those granted to the Marquis. When they had seen the *Cedula* there was some argument as to what had best be done to take the control from Don Diego, who held it against the royal will. There were some who advised that Vaca de Castro should go back to Buenaventura and thence to Panamá, where he might assemble a fleet and a large force with which to go in strength against the men of Chile and punish them for the crime they had committed in putting the Marquis to death and seizing the country. Lorenzo de Aldana was not of this opinion. He maintained that Vaca de Castro should take the road and enter Peru with all possible despatch; for although Don Diego had assumed the name of Governor, there were in Peru so many loyal subjects of his Majesty that they would not fail for any reason to enlist themselves in his service. To go to Panamá would cause much mischief, and would be of no use. After they had argued about what should be done, Vaca de Castro decided to go on to Quito, and ordered Belalcázar to go with him to Peru. While preparations were being made for the journey many copies were made of the royal *Cedula* of his Majesty, and despatched by

messengers to all parts that the President's coming might be known, as well as the will of his Majesty to the effect that in the event of the death of the Marquis, Vaca de Castro was to be Governor. Then, with the following he had, Vaca de Castro set out for Quito, taking with him Lorenzo de Aldana, who he expected would be very useful. Continuing the journey they came to Villaviciosa de Pasto, where they found several persons willing to go with the President to serve his Majesty.

Then, when the messengers sent by Vaca de Castro from Popayán arrived at Quito, and the royal *Cedula* of the King our master was seen there, the Captain Pedro de Puellas, who was lieutenant there, and the *alcaldes* assembled in council; and they acknowledged Vaca de Castro as Governor, sending messengers to inform him, and offering to go with him until he should have carried out all that his Majesty had ordered. When the Governor Vaca de Castro learnt that he had been acknowledged at Quito he rejoiced at this good beginning, and pressed on with all speed to arrive there.

CHAPTER XLVII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro on his way to Quito arrived at a village called Carangue, and there received letters from the captain Alonso de Alvarado, by which he learned that Alvarado had risen against Almagro, in the name of the King; from which news he derived great pleasure.

VACA DE CASTRO was now very anxious to reach Quito, in order to increase his force, and to receive more complete news. Pressing forward he made such good progress that he quickly arrived at *Carangue*, which is fourteen leagues from Quito. Here a messenger met him with news that gave him no little joy. Looking over the letters he

received, he learnt that the captain Alonso de Alvarado, who was Lieutenant for the Marquis in the city of La Frontera, had raised the banner in the royal name as soon as he heard of the murder, holding it to have been a shameful deed by which his Majesty would be ill served, and had himself collected all the troops he could, and stationed himself in a strong position prepared for defence, where it would be very difficult for the enemy to injure him. Vaca de Castro now gained complete knowledge of all that we have just related, which Alonso de Alvarado sent to tell him. All those who came with the Governor saw the letters and heard the news; and they held what Alvarado had done to be a good beginning, and the news to be gladsome. Vaca de Castro then sent the messenger back with all speed to the Chachapoyas provinces, where Alvarado was, with a copy of the royal *Cedula* and a gracious letter praising the step Alvarado had taken in raising the royal banner, and saying that no less was to be expected from so gallant and loyal a cavalier. The Governor also desired that news of his own coming should be sent to Lima, Cuzco, and all the other principal places in Peru. Soon after despatching this messenger, the Governor Vaca de Castro arrived in the city of Quito, where he was very honorably received, and with great solemnity, as Governor and Captain-general. As soon as he was established there, he proceeded to send other messengers to all quarters of the Realm, that his arrival in it might be known, and announcing that he was then at Quito.

Diego Maldonado, a citizen of Cuzco, arriving on the coast and hearing of the death of the Marquis, and that Don Diego had assumed the rôle of Governor, it seemed to him undesirable to go farther. He, therefore, proceeded to Quito to join the Governor Vaca de Castro. Diego de Peralta, and other settlers in Peru, did the same. Although the Adelantado Belalcázar came with the Governor, he did

so not willingly, be it understood, owing to the reasons already explained; but he always relied upon the opinion of Lorenzo de Aldana, and was guided by his counsel. Report quickly spread the news to the maritime towns of Puerto Viejo, Guayaquil, and San Miguel, of the arrival of Vaca de Castro at Quito, and of how he had been received there as Governor and was making a call for troops. Many, with the desire to serve his Majesty, went to join him; and others, who had been neutral, came forward at the King's call and for his service, and they therefore went to Quito to accompany Vaca de Castro and serve under him.

When the Governor heard that Gonzalo Pizarro had gone to explore the *Canela* with more than 200 men, and among them many accustomed to war, he called one Gonzalo Martín, a citizen of Quito and an old *conquistador*, and ordered him to go with twenty or thirty men well equipped, and push into the *Canela* by the same route as Gonzalo. He was diligently to endeavour to inform Gonzalo of the murder of his brother the Marquis by the men of Chile, and that he, Vaca de Castro, had come in the King's name to govern the province and execute judgment on the guilty. He, therefore, called upon Gonzalo Pizarro to return with the men under his command, to help punish Don Diego for what he had done. But although this Gonzalo Martín succeeded in getting the message through to Gonzalo, he was not himself able to reach him. Vaca de Castro also heard that the captain Pedro de Vergara was in the region of Bracamoros with troops. So he sent one Sandoval, with eight or ten Spaniards, to carry word of his arrival and to warn Vergara that the interests of the King's service required him to proceed at once with his men, and join in marching against Don Diego, who had occupied Lima. Although the province of Chaparra and the Paltas were in revolt, and the natives were very daring, Sandoval and his men passed through all the disturbed country, crossing

by rugged tracks over difficult mountain ranges, until they reached the place where Captain Vergara was, and told him the news they brought and what had happened in the land. When Vergara heard all this, being desirous of serving the King against the murderers of the Marquis, he prepared to set out from thence.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Of what else was done by the General Pero Alvarez Holguin, and how he departed from Cuzco.

I N previous chapters we related how Pero Alvarez Holguin was received in the city of Cuzco as General, and how Don Alonso de Montemayor had arrived there with despatches from Don Diego. Although he had written word of his coming, and that he had been sent by Don Diego, confidence was not felt in Don Alonso. The Adelantado Almagro had always thought highly of him, and he went with the Adelantado to Chile; moreover, he was on his side at the battle of Las Salinas, so it was feared that he might try to gain men over to Don Diego's party. He tried, indeed, to slip away from Cuzco, because he was told, before Pedro Anzures arrived, that some men who were not on very good terms with himself, were coming from the town of Plata in that leader's company, and he feared, in those troublous times, they might seek to kill him. Hence he tried to escape. But Pero Alvarez presently took measures to keep him in hand, and ordered his arrest, treating him liberally as his position deserved.

Pedro Anzures having arrived, and the captains having been appointed, it was found that the force numbered 300 men—including mounted pikemen, arquebusiers, and musketeers. News had come that his Majesty had appointed

the licentiate Vaca de Castro to be Judge, and that he had actually arrived at Buenaventura, and must by now be at Quito. So leaving a sufficient force behind to uphold Justice in the King's name, it was decided to set out from Cuzco with the intention of giving battle to Almagro and his followers if they should cross their path; while, if not, they would march on until they could join Vaca de Castro wherever they might meet him. They began the march to Guamanga in good order, always throwing out scouts to reconnoitre in case there should be signs of an enemy's approach.

Were one ordered to enumerate the great evils, injuries, robberies, oppression and ill-treatment inflicted on the natives during these operations, without exaggeration, there would never be an end of it, for they took no more thought about killing Indians than as if they were useless beasts, nor stopped to consider that Christ, our God, was placed on the Cross for them as well as for us. If the captains wished to place some check on such great evils they were powerless to do so; for in past disturbances and civil wars soldiers have always held to robbery and profit. If a remedy was attempted they mutinied, and passed over from one camp to the other; or they stayed away in the villages, if they were not allowed to follow their own devices. In very truth we may in some measure acquit them of blame, for the country is so rough and so devoid of beasts of burden that many must travel afoot, through having nothing to ride. There are also uninhabited wilds where it is necessary, owing to the great cold, to carry tents and means of subsistence, so that where it is done with moderation, I would not condemn the employment of Indian carriers. But since my readers know what I can vouch for, I do not wish to say more on this subject than that if a man had need of one pig he killed twenty, if four Indians were wanted he took a dozen. To speak quite plainly, there

were many who made the poor Indians carry their public women in hammocks borne on their shoulders.

After leaving Cuzco the General Pero Alvarez Holguin travelled until he reached Guamanga, where Don Diego's deputy was one Vasco de Guevara. He, fearing that he might receive some ill-treatment, absented himself from the city, and concealed himself among the mountains. But some soldiers sent out by Pero Alvarez to search for him, found him, and brought him back. Then Pero Alvarez got himself accepted as General in Guamanga, and after he had established order and settled the city in the service of His Majesty he departed, accompanied by some citizens and others who were soldiers from that city. General Pero Alvarez followed the royal road of the Incas, marching always with scouts in advance, until he arrived within half a league of Parcos. He then desired all the captains, cavaliers, gentlemen, and soldiers gathered under his banner to acknowledge him afresh as their General and swear him in as such. This public solemnity was there celebrated. They then discussed what should next be done. Some said that they should go and give battle to Don Diego, who had already left Lima, as we shall presently tell. Others disagreed, saying that it would be better to continue their march to Caxamarca, where they would obtain news of the Judge, and, in conjunction with his men, they would be strong enough to resist the enemy, who had been busying themselves only with increasing their forces, and renewing their arms. Finally they agreed to continue their journey, and join forces with Vaca de Castro and with the captain Alonso de Alvarado.

Alonso de Toro, the citizen of Cuzco, pretending that he was going back in search of some Indian girls, left the camp. They say that the citizens of Cuzco were dissatisfied with the nomination of Holguin as their General, and that this person had some quarrels here with Don Pedro Puerto-

carrero ; and things came to such a pass that Holguin took his horses and arms away and would have turned him out of the camp. The other captains intervening, however, peace was restored ; and Alonso de Toro came back into camp, and they continued their journey. We will now leave them, and speak of the departure of Don Diego from Lima.

CHAPTER XLIX

How Don Diego de Almagro, hearing the news about Pero Alvarez, left the city of Lima, by the advice of his captains, and of the officers and men he took with him.

DON Diego and his followers were much alarmed at the news that Pero Alvarez Holguin had been nominated General in the city of Cuzco, with Gómez de Tordoya as Camp Master, as well as at the news respecting the proceedings of Alonso de Alvarado and other occurrences. Their principal men assembled to decide what should be done. Gómez de Alvarado and Juan de Sayavedra were discontented that Juan de Herrada should be the General, and that they should be under his orders, he having been a common man and a private soldier. They were much displeased with Don Diego, and although they were present at some of the meetings, it was not willingly nor with the desire with which they were credited. There were different opinions as to the course to be pursued. Some thought that they should advance against Alonso de Alvarado and rout him. Others were in favour of descending along the coast road to capture or kill Vaca de Castro, and so to increase their army as to be strong enough to defeat those who had shown themselves to be enemies ; then to wait and see how his Imperial Majesty would dispose these affairs. If a rigorous mandate should be sent

this, he could at least record their fortitude against barbarous nations living in regions beyond where the sun pursues its course.¹ And since I shall have to make mention of the names of the principal leaders when I come to the cruel battle of Chupas, I will hold over until then what the course of my work does not offer an appropriate place for discoursing on here.

Now that all were ready to depart from Lima, furnished with all the arms and horses that could be collected they summoned the factor Illán Suárez de Caravajal and some others to go with them, and quitted the city. The reverend Father Fr. Tomás de San Martín, Provincial of the Dominicans, also went with them. Juan Alonso de Bádañoz was left at Lima as deputy for the Governor

Leaving Lima they marched until they were a league and a half from the city, where they resolved to nominate their leaders. Although it went against the grain with many, they yielded obedience to Juan de Herrada² as their General, and other officers were appointed as follows:

<i>Captains of cavalry</i>	Cristóbal de Sotelo
„ „	<i>Juan Tello</i> ³
„ „	<i>García de Alvarado</i> ³
<i>Captains of infantry</i>	DIEGO DE HOCES ²
„ „	MARTINCOTE ²
„ „	CARDENAS ²
„ „	<i>Juan de Olea</i> ³
<i>Serjeant Major</i>	<i>Suárez</i> ³
<i>Ensign-general</i>	Gonzalo Pereyra

The whole force numbered 517 Spaniards, all very brilliant.⁴ They were mustered and passed in review, and it

¹ *I.e.*, the tropics.

² Actual murderers of the Marquis.

³ Accomplices who waited outside.

⁴ "*Muy lucidos.*" It is to be feared that the prejudices of Cieza de León were very strong.

was found that there were 180 cavalry, 100 arquebusiers and musketeers, the rest pikemen with some halberdiers, and they had five pieces of artillery.

At this time Juan de Herrada fell ill. It was said that the reason was that Juan Balsa put poison into his food. But what is known for certain is, that he was an old man, and for a year his weapons had never quitted his person, and this illness came upon him as a break-up. As it got worse he travelled with much difficulty. So they went on until they came to Guarochiri; where the reverend Fr. Tomás de San Martín and the captain Diego de Agüero left them, by permission of Don Diego. Juan de Sayavedra and Gómez de Alvarado, and the factor, went with them as far as Jauja, and returned from thence by stealth to Lima. At Guarochiri Juan de Herrada became much reduced by his illness, and seeing that he could not personally govern the camp, he spoke with Don Diego and with the captains, and advised them to accept the captains Cristóbal de Sotelo and García de Alvarado as Generals and leaders. This was ill-planned advice, and could not turn out well. An empire, however wide and great it may be, cannot be duly governed by two heads. And how much the less so where there is only a handful of people to be governed? But as it is not for me to represent the things done by those who were in Peru at that time as having been wisely and prudently ordered, I shall merely set them down as they happened, and after the manner in which they ordered them.

CHAPTER L

How the General Pero Alvarez Holguin, after he had been accepted and sworn as General near Parcos, continued his march in the direction of Jauja; and how Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporedondo, while reconnoitring the country, captured the men who were in that province on behalf of Don Diego.

IN the preceding chapters we mentioned how Captain Pero Alvarez Holguin, after he had been sworn in as Captain General, moved from the place where he was, with the intention of approaching the province of Jauja to obtain fuller knowledge of the proceedings of the men of Chile. Those twelve men sent by Don Diego from Lima, had arrived at Jauja to attend to the things we have said they were sent to do. They endeavoured to cement their friendship with the Guancas. But those Indians are very knowing, and were already aware of the arrival of Vaca de Castro, and of how Alonso da Alvarado had declared in Chachapoyas, and Pero Alvarez in Cuzco against the insurgents. So they concluded that it would be prudent to keep in with the Pachacama party. They were asked whether they had received word or knew anything of whether the Christians of Cuzco were coming. They replied that they knew nothing. And though they were well aware that Pero Alvarez was near their valley, they would not tell. Indeed certain Indians went to Pero Alvarez to report the state of affairs, and on this knowledge he sent Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporedondo to Jauja, to reconnoitre and see if any agents of Don Diego were there; and if so to arrest them. Gaspar Rodríguez, keen to serve the King, set out for Jauja, and surprised the Spaniards there at night and made them prisoners. He returned with them to Pero Alvarez, who ordered two to be hanged. He then

took counsel with his officers, and they resolved to deceive the enemy by telling the truth. It was in this way. As they would pass a place quite near the city of Lima, it would be natural to believe that they intended to march in and occupy the city and take possession of it. But if they should give out that they were going on by the mountain road, they would not be believed; and the enemy would come out the more readily to seek them. And thus they would be able to edge off on the road to Caxamarca without danger. So Pero Alvarez released the aforesaid Chile men, and told them to say to Don Diego and his followers that they ought to content themselves with the wrong they had already done, and not lay themselves out to commit more misdeeds; for punishment would surely overtake them. He was marching to Caxamarca because he did not wish to contend with them or give battle—not from any fear of them, but to see whether, having fallen into the error they had, they would turn to seek pardon from the King. Then, as I said, he sent them away and, entering the province of Jauja, he spoke to the Guancas, admonishing them that they should be his loyal friends, and not those of the men of Chile, who were going about opposing the King's interest. After saying some other things to them Pero Alvarez presently departed from Jauja.

Well, let us return to Don Diego and his people, who were marching towards Jauja in good order, for they had now received news that their agents had been made prisoners. They wanted to learn the facts from one who met them and, thinking that he spoke with some reserve, Cristóbal de Sotelo put him to the torture. He then admitted that Pero Alvarez was coming with three hundred Spaniards, that he was bringing with him Don Alonso de Montemayor and Vasco de Guevara,¹ and that they were

¹Two old captains who served under the elder Almagro.

on the road near to Bombon. Juan de Herrada was ill; but from a soldier named Zamarrilla, a swift goer who was wont to make his journeys in the dress of an Indian so as not to be known, he got word that Pero Alvarez was certainly marching straight to Bombon and that, being desirous to avoid a battle, he had ordered Zamarrilla, on pain of severe punishment, to say nothing to Don Diego or to the captains. When the others whom Pero Alvarez had sent arrived and confirmed the truth of that general's march, the captains and foremost men of them assembled to decide upon what should be done. Cristóbal de Sotelo understood the wiliness of his enemies very well. He said "They want to deceive us with the truth, and what they really intend is to effect a junction with Alvarado. In my opinion we ought to intercept them, for we are quite able to do so." Saying this, he ordered that they should move to encounter the enemy by a short cut leading to the main road. Juan de Herrada, since he did not want to have a battle, would not consent; but made various excuses, saying that they should go to Jauja, and that there was time enough to follow them, if they really had taken the road to Bombon. So, as they would not follow the opinion and advice of Cristóbal de Sotelo, they moved on in good order towards Jauja, and marched until they reached the valley. As they were under the dual command of Cristóbal de Sotelo and García de Alvarado there could not be good management, because if one gave an order it seemed inexpedient to the other, and he ordered the contrary. We have said in other places that Sotelo was judicious. He saw that if he and García de Alvarado were both to be in command, the cause must be lost. He therefore said that, in view of this evil, he desired no other authority than his personality, apart from a military rank, secured to him. He added that García de Alvarado was a cavalier of such high standing that he was well able to

undertake the office of General alone and, with the advice of his captains, he could conduct any war as might be necessary. What Sotelo said appeared good to all, and García de Alvarado remained sole General, although most of the soldiers, and even most of the captains, regretted that Sotelo was not their leader. For Sotelo knew well how to treat soldiers, and while keeping strict discipline he was nevertheless beloved.

Pero Alvarez, with his people, continued the march to Bombon, much pleased at having passed through the valley of Jauja. He always sent on his scouts in advance of the main body, and a captain and some light, active men were always with the rear guard, so that if the enemy should follow in pursuit they could not take him by surprise and rob the baggage. They marched in good order, always keeping a bright look out.

When the men of Chile arrived at Jauja, Cristóbal de Sotelo having resigned, and García de Alvarado being in sole command, the captains again met to consult over what should be done. There was great regret that Pero Alvarez had not been pursued, for from Pariacaca they could have turned his front and cut him off. They decided to follow him in very light order, leaving their baggage behind. They set out briskly after the Cuzco party; but the country was very rough, and the fury of the winter was not yet over, the heavens discharging such heavy rains as to swell the rivers, and render progress very laborious for the wayfarers. The Indians, seeing the movements that were being attempted, carried off the food supplies and absented themselves, so as not to have the road covered with the bodies of those whom the Christians, in witness of their cruelty, would work to death and leave behind. All these things made the march so difficult that it was by no means easy for the one camp to overtake the other.

CHAPTER LI

How Don Diego de Almagro, with his General Garcia de Alvarado, went in pursuit of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and how, after getting near to Bombon, they turned back: also of the death of Juan de Herrada, and how Pero Alvarez continued his march.

THE men of Chile having decided to go in pursuit of Pero Alvarez Holguin in the hope of defeating him, they set out, as related, from Jauja. Juan de Herrada was greatly weakened by his illness, and, being unable to go on with Don Diego, he stayed behind in that valley. But after leaving there and marching with great speed in expectation of overtaking their enemies, as explained before, they were unable, owing to the great difficulties of the road, to come up with the troops of Pero Alvarez, although they overtook his baggage and did some mischief to it. The general opinion now was that they would do well to go back to Jauja, and continue their march from thence direct to Guamanga and the great city of Cuzco. The object was to increase their army with the men they might find in those cities, make artillery, and wait to see how Vaca de Castro would enter the Realm, and whether he would join hands with the partisans of the Pizarros. And then, according to his policy, they would decide what they had best do. The enmity and hatred they felt against Gómez de Tordoya was very great, because they said he was the principal cause of Pero Alvarez having abandoned his expedition to the Chunchos and returned to Cuzco. They wanted to take revenge on him for that.¹ So when they resolved to give up the chase after Pero

¹ They had already murdered his son, the gallant boy who defended the Marquis.

Alvarez, they returned to Jauja, and there found that Juan de Herrada¹ had died of his infirmity; at which all were deeply sorrowful. Here they rested awhile and begged supplies of food from the Indians.

Pero Alvarez Holguin continued his march at this point with great labour. The ground was very steep and rugged, the mountain passes were snow-covered and excessively cold, the rivers much swollen, and in many places without bridges. He heard how near the enemy had been, and kept his men in good order, animating them to show a bold front to those who were in pursuit. But all the captain's soldiers were so resolved to die in maintaining their cause that exhortations were hardly necessary. They were constantly on the alert, and never tired of keeping their arms by them, to see if those men of Chile would join issue with them. When those in the rear guard knew that the enemy had turned back, the march was continued in splendid order, with scouts always in advance to keep them in-

¹ Other authorities called him Rada, and they were followed by Prescott and Helps. Cieza de León is right. The name was Herrada. I am unable to concur in Mr. Prescott's estimate of the character of this man. I cannot find any authority for that historian's statement that Herrada was of good family, and he certainly had no experience in high military commands.

Herrada came to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado as a common soldier of mature years. Deserting Alvarado he entered the service of the elder Almagro, remained with him until his death, and then attended his young half-caste son to Lima, obtaining unbounded influence over him. He originated the plot for the murder of Pizarro, and was the ringleader in that atrocious crime. None of Almagro's old captains, except Chaves, and no man of honour, would have anything to do with it. Herrada had force of character, but neither prudence nor ability. By inducing young Almagro to make him his General above the heads of better men, he affronted and estranged the old captains and friends of the young half-caste's late father. His murders of Pizarro's secretary, of Francisco de Chaves and others, were acts of folly which no able conspirator would have perpetrated. The murder of Pizarro may have been partly to avenge the death of his old master, but he and his accomplices were far more influenced by anger at not being provided for. Herrada's last advice to appoint two Generals showed his incapacity. For young Almagro the death of this ruffian was nought but a good riddance.

formed. The Indians being so addicted to lying, and caring so little for speaking the truth, spread reports that parties were coming against them from in front, and that the men of Chile were still pressing forward in their rear. This caused some trouble and disquiet, for they received many false alarms.

The ensigns went forward with the banners and the royal standard. The way, as we have said, was very difficult and the rivers swollen and many without bridges, so that, in the hurry of crossing, some Spaniards, horses, and Indians were drowned. They marched on until they came to an ancient fortress of the Incas, former kings of these regions. The name of it is Tambo, and it stands half way between Jauja and Caxamarca. The position where the fortress and its barracks stood, was a strong one, and Pero Alvarez resolved to rest there, both Spaniards and horses being much fatigued. While they were there the General, his captains, and head men consulted together as to what should be done, and it was agreed that messengers should be sent from thence to the licentiate Vaca de Castro, to let him know what had been done in the service of his Majesty, and that they were then in search of him, and to ask also for his commands as to what they should further do in the king's interests. They chose Luis de León as their messenger, a citizen of Arequipa; Juan Alonso Palomino and Diego de Torres were ordered to go to Guaraz and ascertain where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was, for they now knew from the men they had captured at Jauja, and from the Indians, that he had raised the banner in the service of the king and was awaiting, with a strong force of Spaniards, the arrival of Vaca de Castro. The messengers took letters from Pero Alvarez and his captains to persuade Alonso de Alvarado to come and join forces with them, the one wish and desire of all being to serve the king. And then they could move forward with all despatch,

that Vaca de Castro might know what had happened. The messengers, taking the letters and their credentials, eagerly set out to find Vaca de Castro. They passed through very great danger, for the natives, at a village called *Taca*, seeing them so few in number, came out to kill them. Scarcely had they got there with their despatches when the Indians attacked them with great boldness; but in the end, as they were valiant soldiers, they passed on and arrived at the camp of Alonso de Alvarado. When that captain heard that Pero Alvarez was coming with such a brilliant company, and whole-hearted readiness to serve the King, he rejoiced. But for them to suppose that he would place himself under the command of Pero Alvarez and be his subordinate, when he had formerly been his superior, he looked upon as folly, and determined that it should not be. Instead, he answered the messengers equivocally, and furthermore offered excuses in his letters, which appeared fair, in order that no discord should arise.

As soon as Pero Alvarez Holguin had despatched the messengers, he departed from that fortress and took the same road they went by, always maintaining good order among his troops. The Indians came out to attack the rear-guard and see if they could plunder any part of the baggage. In this manner, and with very great labour owing to the rugged nature of the track, they arrived at a village named *Guaras* in the province of Guaylas, where they found plenty of food. They then consulted about what should be done next, and decided upon waiting there for the reply of Vaca de Castro, to see whether he would come quickly to that part. For with the enemy in rear, nothing was to be gained in despoiling the country and consuming supplies, since they must perforce go back the way they came. And so with the approval of all, Pero Alvarez established his camp there, fixed the standard in the midst of the officers' quarters, and the banners in their order, leaving an

open space for any needs that might arise. Pero Alvarez ordered that there was to be no ill-treatment of the Indians, on pain of severe punishment, but that they were to be treated fairly and their food supplies taken only in moderation; but this order was of little avail. The flocks and other things that were robbed and taken from the Indians cannot lightly be told; yet there is no other way for it in such times.

CHAPTER LII

How the captain Alonso de Alvarado, on getting the news of Pero Alvarez Holguin, sent another messenger to Vaca de Castro urging him to come to where the camp was with all possible speed.

I T was very fortunate for Vaca de Castro that he should have found so much loyalty in the Realm; and that now that Don Diego had usurped the government of the provinces, his Majesty the King our Lord should have had vassals of a kind who would not countenance so weighty an offence, nor allow any one to occupy the Realm against his royal pleasure.

Although his Majesty has pronounced the battle that was fought at Chupas to have been just, I will not, in my book, term Don Diego and his followers traitors, for two reasons; as to which, if they are not evident, I submit to correction by those wise and learned men who understand these things better than I do. I say then, that the principal reason is that Vaca de Castro brought no mandate or commission to fight a battle. The second is that Don Diego and his followers would have supported Vaca de Castro if the latter had not joined with Pero Alvarez; and further, because the object of the Chile party, at first, was to avenge the death of the Adelantado by murdering

the Marquis,¹ and if the King should not think fit to pardon them, to retire into the most remote interior. It may be true that they committed a great mistake in that, at the time that they murdered the Marquis, they took the wands of Office from the *Alcaldes* of Lima, and gave them to men of their own choice: an ill-judged action.

But to return to our subject. Alonso de Alvarado had collected all the men within his reach, and had sent his messengers to Vaca de Castro; but when he knew that Pero Alvarez Holguin, with the people of Cuzco and Plata were approaching him, he decided not to go to Quito, where he supposed that he would find Vaca de Castro, but went on with his troops towards the province of Guaylas instead, first sending another messenger to Vaca de Castro. This message was to urge him to join in with the men he had collected, without letting more time elapse. For, praise be to God, things had made such a good beginning, that he and Pero Alvarez had now got together as many as 500 men, to help secure obedience to the will of his Majesty. He asked Vaca de Castro not to delay much in coming, lest Don Diego, who had retired towards Cuzco, should there increase his resources. He wrote other things in his letter too. As soon as Alonso de Alvarado had despatched the messenger, he ordered those who were with him to get ready to march to Guaylas. So they started at once and proceeded until they arrived at a habitation called *Yungay*, one day's journey from the camp of Pero Alvarez. Thence they wrote very gracious letters, and some of the one camp visited those of the other. Here they stayed, waiting for news of the Governor Vaca de Castro: where we will leave them for the present, and tell of what Don Diego de Almagro did.

¹ This was the treason—the murder of the King's Governor. The object of the battle of Chupas was to capture and punish the traitors.

CHAPTER LIII

How Don Diego de Almagro's captains, being in the province of Janja, agreed that he and no other should be General, and that Cristóbal de Sotelo should be Camp Master; and how they were for sending García de Alvarado to Lima, which was opposed by Sotelo.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO and those who were with him were deeply grieved when the death of Juan de Herrada became known to them. The captains and principal men consulted together about sending a captain to Lima for iron to make arms, and other things that were necessary; and some proposed that it should be García de Alvarado, with a hundred horsemen and fifty arquebusiers. When this was agreed to, Cristóbal de Sotelo, with others who viewed discreetly the evils that such an errand would arouse, and knew that the soldiers would rob the city and cause trouble and give offence, opposed it; which García de Alvarado bitterly resented. This having been settled, the soldiers publicly declared that they wanted no other General than the lad Don Diego, and that Cristóbal de Sotelo should be their Camp Master. The principal men entered into consultation over this and agreed that it should be so, although García de Alvarado showed himself aggrieved, because it deprived him of the command. From that time forward Don Diego took up the duties of Captain General, and Cristóbal de Sotelo those of Camp Master.

It was then determined that the Camp Master Cristóbal de Sotelo should set out with twenty horsemen, lightly equipped, and ride to the city of Cuzco to try and gather some friends together; and do what might seem to him

best. So he promptly started with twenty mounted men lightly equipped, and marched until he arrived at Guamanga, where he halted for a few days; and then continued onwards to Cuzco. García de Alvarado, when he saw that Sotelo was placed before him and sent to Cuzco to do what he liked, was deeply chagrined, and began to entertain hatred against him. Even his friendship for Don Diego became weaker, and was no longer so thorough as it was at the beginning. And thus he became very lukewarm in his Chief's interests.

The Camp Master Cristóbal de Sotelo, travelling very rapidly, arrived at Cuzco, where he called a meeting of the municipal councillors to get them to turn round and accept Don Diego as Governor. Felipe Gutiérrez, when he heard of the arrival of Sotelo in the settlement, wanted to slip away or go and hide himself at Santo Domingo; but Sotelo being warned of this, sent certain men who arrested him, and he was brought to the municipal building. Then Sotelo took the money he found there, belonging to Francisco de Carvajal and Bachicao and other persons who had joined Pero Alvarez, for the expenses of the war. He then ordered Diego Méndez, with twenty horsemen, and some arquebusiers among them, to proceed to the town of Plata, and have Don Diego acknowledged there as Governor, since his Majesty had given that Government to the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro his father. When the captain Diego Méndez arrived in the province of Charcas, where this town of Plata is situated, Antonio Alvarez (a settler there), Luis de Villanueva, and some others, not wishing to serve Don Diego nor give countenance to Diego Méndez, absented themselves, as they were unable to make any show of resistance. Diego Méndez wrote to Antonio Alvarez to come to him, promising that he would see to it that Don Diego should be lenient with him. Antonio Alvarez

replied that he was not going to be a traitor. Other negotiations followed and things happened, but finally Antonio Alvarez, Villanueva, Vivanco, and others were taken into custody. Diego Méndez, after he had made them acknowledge Don Diego as Governor, and had installed Juan de Vera as lieutenant, went on to the rich mines of Porco, where he seized upwards of 60,000 *pesos de oro* that were there, and all the horses and arms he could find ; and he returned to the great city of Cuzco with the whole of it.

CHAPTER LIV

How, after he had despatched messengers to many parts, the Governor Vaca de Castro resolved to leave Quito and go to join the captain Alonso de Alvarado.

IT has been related how letters from Alonso de Alvarado were given to Vaca de Castro at Carangue, informing him that he, Alvarado, had ranged himself on the side of the King, against the Chile party, and of other matters, and how Vaca de Castro received the news with great satisfaction and sent messengers to the Bracamoros and other parts, calling upon the people to join him in procuring punishment of Don Diego for having murdered the Marquis and usurped the government. When it was known in the coast towns that Vaca de Castro was at Quito several came to join him and, with those brought by himself and by Belalcázar, they made up the force there assembled to 120 men. And as he got word that Pedro de Vergara was coming very willingly to join, with all the Spaniards he had with him, Vaca de Castro determined, since his affairs were having so good a beginning, to set out from Quito ; leaving Hernando Sarmiento there as his Lieutenant-Governor. But he first ordered the Adelantado

Belalcázar to go on ahead with twenty horsemen and scour the country; for having subdued the natives of that region himself, he was so well known to them, that he could ensure a supply of provisions at all the halting places along the route they would take. Belalcázar said that he would do as he was ordered, and leaving Quito by the royal road, he called at Pansaleo and La Tacunga, and went on until he came to the royal lodgments at Tomebamba. Here he met the captain Diego de Mora, and one Barrientos and others who, with a desire to serve the King, were coming to join Vaca de Castro. Among them came the captain Francisco Núñez, the same who was banished from Lima when they put Francisco de Chaves to death. To escape being punished for having been present at the murder of the Marquis, he pretended that he had come to join Vaca de Castro, and when he knew that the Adelantado Belalcázar was there, he spoke to him requesting that he would so far favour him as to see that he was not hardly dealt with. Although Belalcázar knew that he was one of the most culpable in the murder of the old Marquis, and that Vaca de Castro was anxious to capture the authors of that misdeed, and to inflict punishment commensurate with the greatness of the crime they had committed, he was not only content to let him escape, but, that he might get away without being seen by Vaca de Castro, he gave him a horse, telling him to ride until he was within his (Belalcázar's) government, where he would have nothing to fear.

When Vaca de Castro knew that Diego de Mora and the others were coming to join him, he rejoiced greatly and advanced as far as Tomebamba, still accompanied by Aldana, Maldonado, Valdivieso, and other friends; while to those he found at Tomebamba he showed great regard, and spoke very gratefully. But when he learnt that Belalcázar, without his knowledge or consent, had lent a friendly

hand to Francisco Núñez de Pedroso, he resented it deeply, and sending for Belalcázar immediately, rebuked him with some asperity; and from that time forth he did not trust the Adelantado as before. He wrote at once to Sarmiento, his lieutenant at Quito, urging him to use diligence in finding out by what road the captain Francisco Núñez had travelled, and to arrest him, that he might be punished. But although Sarmiento did his best, he was unable to catch the fugitive, because the guide given him by Belalcázar well knew how to elude pursuit and get within the Adelantado's government, where Núñez joined the captain Juan Cabrera, and they went together to Antioquía.

At this royal seat of Tomebamba they told the Governor Vaca de Castro certain things which I will not affirm to be positively true, because I have not met with an informant who states that he heard them himself, and also because Belalcázar was a friend of the Pachacama party, and had been one of the Marquis' captains. What they alleged was that he said he approved of the murder of the Marquis, that Don Diego had done well in killing him to avenge the death of his father, and that he showed himself a friend of Don Diego; besides other things which were not proper to be said at such a time. When Vaca de Castro was made aware of this, he was very seriously annoyed, and regretted that he had brought Belalcázar with him. He would have ordered him to return, had he not feared that many of those who had come with him would not themselves care to remain on seeing him go back. The anger and worry he felt on learning that Belalcázar had said such things brought on a fever, of which Vaca de Castro became ill. He said nothing to Belalcázar then, but continued his journey to San Miguel, people joining him day by day from all parts to serve his Majesty. He reached the city of Piura and, after having been welcomed as Governor, he departed, having a strong

desire the while to find some pretext for dismissing Belalcázar. Presently they arrived at the village of Carrochamba, where Vaca de Castro found the children of the Marquis who, since they heard of his coming, had been waiting for him there, as well as the widow of Francisco Martín de Alcántara. Vaca de Castro went to visit them before he entered his own lodging, and consoled them by saying that now that it had pleased God that the Marquis should be slain, they need not be anxious, for he would punish the authors of the deed, and the heirs should be restored to their estates.

After Vaca de Castro had been four or five days in Carrochamba, certain arquebusiers arrived, who had been sent by the captain Vergara; for when Sandoval and all those who were with him arrived, Vergara determined to set out to serve his Majesty. To avoid any difficulty about provisions, he would not come to where Vaca de Castro then was, but awaited him farther on, though in the meanwhile he sent the arquebusiers as a bodyguard for the Governor. The Governor was pleased at their arrival. Before this he had directed one Carreño by name, a very swift runner, to go to Lima dressed as an Indian, with a copy of his commission, in order that he should be acknowledged as Governor. This Carreño bound himself to perform, and he went with the despatch and letters to Lima, arriving there at a time when Don Diego was very near the city, so he smuggled himself into the monastery of Santo Domingo. When the Provincial, Friar San Martín, learnt the contents of the documents he was much relieved and told the news to the aldermen, who thereupon assembled in the church, where they agreed to accept Jerónimo de Aliaga as lieutenant, though it is said that they at first chose Francisco de Barrionuevo.

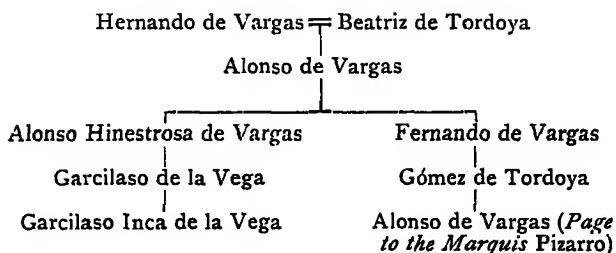
CHAPTER LV

Of what passed in the camp of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and how the Camp Master Gómez de Tordoya and the captain Garcilaso de la Vega set out from thence and went to meet the Governor Vaca de Castro.

WE related, in previous chapters, how the General Pero Alvarez Holguin arrived in the province of Guaraz with his people, and how Gómez de Tordoya was Camp Master and second in command. When they got there and learnt for certain that Vaca de Castro was coming nearer to Quito they sent messengers to him, and also to Captain Alonso de Alvarado. Now Carreño, who went with the Governor's commission to the city of Lima, had passed that way and spread the report that Vaca de Castro and all who were coming with him said publicly that the credit of all that had been done in Cuzco and the Charcas was due to Gómez de Tordoya, and to no other. Although Tordoya heard this, he was prudent and desirous to serve the King, so he did not pay any heed to it. Pero Alvarez felt differently, and appeared much annoyed on hearing of such gossip; and to excite him the more, his friends made trouble between him and Gómez de Tordoya by saying that the latter ought to be turned out of the camp and not be allowed in it, that it might be learnt and understood whether he was a party to the statement, or had given countenance to it, that it might work his own ends. Pero Alvarez inconsiderately sent Captain Castro to arrest Gómez de Tordoya, and this was done. Castro went one morning to the lodging of Gómez de Tordoya, with some soldiers, and carried out his orders, whereby Tordoya was caused great hardship. Without letting his intention be known Tordoya left Guaraz, armed and mounted, to go and

join Vaca de Castro. As the captain Garcilaso de la Vega was a first cousin of Tordoya,¹ and so highly esteemed by all present there, Pero Alvarez consented that he also should leave the camp. Garcilaso did so, giving the banner of his company to his ensign Pedro de Fuentes. The two knights having met together, took the road towards Truxillo, where they believed Vaca de Castro was.

After they had gone, the General Pero Alvarez Holguin made an explanation in presence of the soldiers, in order that they might not blame him for his treatment of Tordoya. He also wrote a letter to the latter, inviting him very earnestly to come back, for that it was by the speeches of prejudiced men that he had been induced to act as he did, for which he now felt regret. Tordoya, when he had seen the letter, replied that he would go to meet Vaca de Castro, and he would be a good friend to him, and of that he might be assured. So he went on until he found Vaca de Castro. The captain Alonso de Alvarado came several times from his camp to that of Pero Alvarez to enjoy friendly intercourse with those who were there, and they remained more than four months collecting supplies in the neighbourhood whilst waiting for the arrival of the Governor Vaca de Castro, with a strong desire to start at once in search of their enemies. So we will quit speaking of them, and say a little about the Governor Vaca de Castro.



CHAPTER LVI

How the Governor Vaca de Castro ordered the Adelantado Belalcázar to return to his government, and how he was informed of Pero Alvarez having entered into Guaraz ; and how, being at Motupe, Don Alonso de Montemayor and the captain Vasco de Guevara came to him there.

AFTER the arquebusiers who were sent by Captain Pedro de Vergara arrived, a messenger named Francisco de las Balsas, also sent by Vergara, came with the news that Pero Alvarez had taken the field in the service of the King against Don Diego, and that he and Gómez de Tordoya were at Guaraz with a strong force, waiting for the Governor's arrival. The Governor was heartily pleased with this news, and rendered devout thanks to our Lord. And there was great satisfaction among all those who were with him, looking forward to the hour that would see them united with the men under the captains Pero Alvarez and Alonso de Alvarado, for there were upwards of 400 Spaniards, very brilliant men, and many of them cavaliers of high birth. He learnt too that the captains Pedro Anzures and Garcilaso de la Vega and the people of the town of Plata had united with Pero Alvarez, and that Don Diego had followed them to near Bombon, and everything else that had happened. When the Governor Vaca de Castro had received such joyful news, than which none other could afford him greater happiness, he considered, since he was still feeling dissatisfied at having the Adelantado Belalcázar in his company, that this gave him a pretext for ordering him to return. He, therefore, spoke to Lorenzo de Aldana, and instructed him to tell Belalcázar that the time had now come for him to return to his own government, where the natives were in revolt and required to be brought into subjection ;

and that now that Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez, with so many cavaliers, had declared themselves servants of the king, his services could be dispensed with. The Adelantado replied, to what Lorenzo de Aldana had said to him on the part of the Governor, that he was there to serve his Majesty, that he ought not to be ordered to return, because it would be a very great disgrace for him to go back in that manner, and it would be said that it had been for another reason.

The Governor ordered his secretary, Sebastián de Merlo, to go the lodgings of the Adelantado and to notify him by command on the part of his Majesty, that he was required to return at once to his own government to place it in order, because this was desirable for the service of the King our Lord; and that, if he did not do so, he could not be looked upon as doing the king's service, nor be regarded as possessing the loyalty that was expected from him as a subject and Governor of the king. The Governor ordered that this should be notified to the Adelantado Belalcázar apart, where no other person could overhear. Merlo went immediately to do this, and arrived in the presence of Adelantado. On reading the order of Vaca de Castro, Belalcázar was very much disturbed, and directed the people who were with him, and who had come from his government, to accompany him to the Governor Vaca de Castro. Merlo went before him, to apprise Vaca de Castro of the coming of Belalcázar with his followers. Without making any fuss, Vaca de Castro ordered the cavaliers who were with him to be watchful lest Belalcázar should attempt anything [in the nature of violence], and directed the arquebusiers to be ready, with arquebuses in their hands. Belalcázar came, accompanied by his followers, to where Vaca de Castro was, and when their arrival was announced the latter ordered that he be allowed to enter. Belalcázar entered alone, with a rueful countenance,

and said that he was astonished at what had been communicated to him with reference to returning to his government. His departure from it, as the Governor knew, was to serve his Majesty in this campaign, and not to return until Don Diego had been punished for his insurrection in the Realm of Peru. If he returned, some people would think that there was some sufficient cause for it, or that he had shown himself an approver and favourer of Don Diego. Having heard what Belalcázar said, and his arguments to clear himself of the impression the Governor had of him, Vaca de Castro replied with very serious words. He said that he did not doubt that Belalcázar had always shown himself to be a very loyal servant of his Majesty, who had entrusted him as such with the government of a distant province. He, Vaca de Castro, would not have thought any other thing of Belalcázar if it had not come to his certain knowledge that he, and his people, had favoured Francisco Núñez de Pedroso, so that he might escape without hindrance or punishment, and had supplied him with a horse and guides to conduct him by a route where he could not be found; also in Quito, and other places, he had not only tried to show, but had given to understand by his words, that Don Diego had acted very properly in putting the Marquis to death. For these reasons, and because the captains up beyond had upheld the king's word with great energy, he had sent to order Belalcázar to return to his government. He now again admonished the Adelantado to do so, for he had not yet secured tranquillity among the natives of his government nor had they ceased to be rebellious.

The Adelantado would gladly have gone onwards, and not returned to his government, as he felt that it would bring disgrace upon him; but though he protested much, it did not avail with Vaca de Castro. Seeing that he would have to return, he said it would appear to his followers as

if he had committed some fault, and he asked that an order might be given to obviate this. Vaca de Castro, to content him, wrote from there to his Majesty the king, saying that the Adelantado returned to do his duties in the government to which he had been appointed, because, in Peru, Pero Alvarez and Alvarado had declared for the king's service, and the Adelantado's help was no longer necessary. This was written that his Majesty might not consider he had always been ill served by the Adelantado. And to satisfy those who were with him it was agreed that he returned because he was an old man and had so much to attend to in his own government. Next day, the Adelantado took his leave, and all that we have related was done, and it was believed that the Governor had no feeling against him. He was attended by the men from Cali and others who were in his company, until they arrived at Quito, whence they proceeded to the government of Popayán.

While at the same place Vaca de Castro received news that the messengers from the captains were near at hand, at which he rejoiced. Presently he continued the journey until he arrived at the buildings of Cayambe, where the messengers reached him, and delivered the letters from the captains. From them Vaca de Castro was glad to gain full particulars of all they had done. He made the messengers very welcome, and he sent back very gracious letters, giving the captains to understand that his Majesty would grant them substantial rewards, as they had proved themselves loyal servants. He added that he would use all possible despatch to join them, admonishing them to preserve concord in the meanwhile among themselves, and to treat the Indians in such wise that they would have no grievance, and would not absent themselves on account of any ill usage. He wrote in like strain to the captain Alonso de Alvarado, and to the cavaliers and soldiers who were with him.

At this time, Vaca de Castro's commission having arrived, he had been acknowledged as Governor throughout the Realm, excepting the part where Don Diego and his captains held sway. In the rest, the Justices were for the king and in his name. Gómez de Tordoya, when he left the camp at Guaraz to seek Vaca de Castro, came as far as Truxillo, where the latter was expected, it being known that he was on the way. Don Alonso de Montemayor and the captain Vasco de Guevara went on to join Vaca de Castro, leaving the camp of Pero Alvarez, with his permission, before he halted at Guaraz. Although at Truxillo they heard that Vaca de Castro had left Quito, they did not wait there, but pushed on to meet him. Vaca de Castro marched until he reached the valley of Jayanque, where Don Alonso de Montemayor, Vasco de Guevara, and Pedro de Vergara, with the men brought from Bracamoros, happened to be awaiting him. Vaca de Castro was much pleased when he met them there, and especially so at the arrival of Vergara, praising the zeal he had shown in coming forward to serve his Majesty. He then asked Don Alonso and Vasco de Guevara several questions about what happened in Lima at the time the Marquis was killed, and was informed by them. Some of those who came with the Governor counselled him not to trust Guevara nor Don Alonso either, as they had been very close friends of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro. Though he did not show that he felt any suspicion of them, he took care that their arrival should cause no mischief. But they were both resolved to serve his Majesty. Don Alonso de Montemayor was always very loyal, as he appeared afterwards at the time when the the Viceroy came to Peru, for he was one of those who followed and served him most diligently.

CHAPTER LVII

How the captain Pedro de Vergara spoke to the Governor Vaca de Castro about providing some relief for the soldiers who had come with him, and how the Governor arrived at Truxillo.

AS the captain Pedro de Vergara had been engaged for a long time in the subjugation of the Bracamoros, indeed, ever since the battle of Las Salinas, those who came with him had worn out all their clothing. Their need was so great, that they spoke to Pedro de Vergara, their leader, to ask the Governor Vaca de Castro to afford them some relief, by reason of their great desire to serve the king. Vaca de Castro heard from the captain of their condition, and ordered equipment and things they were in want of, to the value of 10,000 *pesos de oro*, to be provided for them. With this help they were much pleased and contented. Vaca de Castro did nothing without consulting Lorenzo de Aldana, and he intended to nominate him Camp Master of the army which was mustering where the captains were encamped. After having rested a sufficient time they started for the city of Truxillo, and when the citizens and dwellers in that place learnt that Vaca de Castro had come they received him with great willingness, and showed a desire to serve his Majesty in all that the Governor might direct. So he was personally acknowledged as Governor in the presence of the assembled *regidores* and *alcaldes*, as commanded by his Majesty's royal authority. Since leaving Spain, the Governor Vaca de Castro had passed through great hardships, and had made long journeys. He was a man of refined habits and had only been accustomed to work in his study, so that he now found himself much broken down and needing rest. But

to think of stopping still in any place until Don Diego should return to his Majesty's service or be obliged, by force of arms, to give up calling himself Governor (to which he had no title whatever) and surrender the province he had occupied, seemed to him a mistake. So he was anxious to leave Truxillo promptly, and during the days he was there he busied himself with disposing affairs as seemed best for the task in hand.

At Truxillo he found Gómez de Tordoya and Garcilaso de la Vega, with whom he spent much of his time. On learning the reason of their coming he spoke to them most amicably, saying that among gentlemen there should be no discord nor cause for enmity. He added that his Majesty would be informed of their services, and that they should be well rewarded. Some say that Gómez de Tordoya spoke well of the affairs of Pero Alvarez; others say that he did not, but rather gave the Governor to understand that the greater part of the honour of having raised the banner in Cuzco in the name of his Majesty belonged to himself alone, and that Pero Alvarez already knew at Lima, before he came to Cuzco to invade the Chunchos, that the Marquis was doomed to suffer death at the hands of the men of Chile—and that if Pero Alvarez had been chosen General, 'twas in order that he and those with him should not declare for Don Diego against the loyalists, who were so few that they would not have been able to obtain their desire (which was to serve the King) if he had wanted to prevent it. And further, that Pero Alvarez was so ambitious to have charge and command, that if the present holder should wish to deprive him of it, it would not take much for him to become an enemy, or to refuse obedience. They also say that when Vaca de Castro heard those things, he was much chagrined, but concealed his emotion that it might not be thought he feared lest Pero Alvarez, feeling his own power, would not pursue the war under his

authority. Presently he ordered all those who were going with him to get ready to start at once, because letters from both camps had arrived, urging him not to delay joining the other forces, but rather to hurry on their union in the interests of his Majesty's service. When those in the city of Truxillo saw that the Governor wanted to depart, they entered into consultation to discuss which would be the best route for him to take. Some thought that he ought to go to Lima, assemble all the men he could collect there, and go up with them to Jauja, where the other captains should be ordered to join him with their respective forces. Others thought that unsuitable, and that he should first go to Guaraz and be acknowledged by officers and men as Governor and Captain-general. It was finally decided that he should go first to Guaraz; and this opinion being assented to by all, he departed from the city of Truxillo, leaving Diego de Mora as Lieutenant and Justice, in the King's name. He marched, with those who had mustered to accompany him, until they reached the valley known as *Santa*, where he took the road up into the mountains.

CHAPTER LVIII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro, leaving the plains, ascended from Santa by the mountain road, and how he met Gómez de Alvarado, and was annoyed on learning that he came without permission from Alonso de Alvarado; and how the Provincial, Fr. Tomás de San Martín, also arrived.

THE Governor Vaca de Castro arrived at a coast valley they call *Santa*, where there is a large river, and where great edifices and houses, now in ruins, formerly stood. The plains and meadow lands along the banks of the river were covered with brambles and cane-brakes and dense

bush, where great quantities of mosquitos are bred; and at the time when Vaca de Castro was there these were by no means few. It was a great plague, and tormented the Governor and those who were with him to such an extent that, without tarrying long amidst such malign company, hasty preparations were made for ascending the heights. They followed the road to the right of the provinces of Moro and Quizquiz,¹ taking a supply of provisions with them, and some Indians who carried the baggage. The captain Pedro Vergara had remained in Truxillo, to gather in some men who had stayed behind, but in a short time he overtook the Governor, who was travelling by stages. As they ascended to the high elevations in the mountains, that common ailment of the head which overtakes everybody attacked him and most of the others, and used them so ill that they felt like being on the sea. At the end of some days the Governor arrived at a village called *Tosal*, where he was told by a Spaniard he found there that in the camp of the captain Alonso de Alvarado, some words had passed between the latter and a youth named Gómez de Alvarado "the lad."² When he heard of the approach of Vaca de Castro, this young man had quitted the camp without his captain's permission, and was coming to join the Governor.

¹ Clerical errors or misprints. Probably Mato and Carhuaz.

² This was not Gómez the brother of Don Pedro de Alvarado, and one of the old captains of the Adelantado Diego de Alvarado. He appears to have been no relation, and was called Gómez de Alvarado *el mozo* (the lad) to distinguish him from his namesake. We first hear of him in Cuzco in 1538, as having been arrested by Almagro as a partisan of Pizarro, just before the battle of Las Salinas. He then went with Alonso de Alvarado for the exploration and settlement of Chachapoyas. He afterwards joined Gonzalo Pizarro and was at the battle of Anaquito, when he saved the wounded Belalcázar from the ruffian Bachicao and others who wanted to kill him. Gonzalo Pizarro gave him the government of the Chachapoyas. But he deserted his Chief and joined La Gasca, who made him a captain of cavalry. After Sacsabwana, Gómez de Alvarado "the lad" went to Upper Peru, and when Giron commenced a civil war, he joined Alonso de Alvarado, but was killed in the battle of Chuquinga. Garcilaso confuses him with the other Gómez de Alvarado.

Vaca de Castro was displeased on hearing this and the more so in that he should be coming without leave from his captain, Alonso de Alvarado. Calling his secretary, the Governor instructed him to draft an order and go and notify it to Gómez de Alvarado, requiring him, under severe penalties in case of default, to return and place himself under his captain's banner. And he directed Merlo to then go with Gómez, until he had seen him safely under his captain's orders. Presently Merlo started off with the order to do what was commanded by the Governor, and went on until he came to where Gómez de Alvarado was quartered. With him he found the Provincial, Fr. Tomás de San Martín, who, when at Lima, had heard of the coming of Vaca de Castro; and, wishing to further the king's service, had presently set out to meet him, and had now come by way of Guaraz and the place where Alonso de Alvarado had formed his camp, and also by that of Pero Alvarez Holguin. All the officers of both camps enjoyed his company, and he theirs. One day when Alonso de Alvarado was in his own camp a coolness took place over some contention, and high words passed between that captain and Gómez de Alvarado. The Provincial intervened and made peace between them. Gómez de Alvarado then asked leave of the captain to go and seek for the Governor Vaca de Castro, which leave was refused. So he went out from the camp without leave, and when this became known to the Governor he sent Merlo with the order already mentioned. Arrived at the quarters at Guaylas, Merlo found Friar Tomás and Gómez de Alvarado lodging there, having travelled together from the camp. As Gómez was a cavalier of such high rank, Merlo thought it advisable to inform the Provincial what the Governor had sent him to do. The Provincial listened, and counselled Gómez de Alvarado to set out at once to meet Vaca de Castro, as he was so near. Holding this to be good advice, Gómez ordered his

horse to be saddled and, without letting Merlo know it, promptly rode away to where he thought he would find the Governor. He was ushered before Vaca de Castro and explained his great desire to serve him, and that he had left the camp of Alonso de Alvarado in order to find him the sooner.

Vaca de Castro was much annoyed that Gómez de Alvarado should have come in this way, instead of obeying his order to return to the camp of Alonso de Alvarado; but, as there was now no remedy for it, he dissembled his anger before the young man. Presently they set out for the station at Guaylas where the Governor and all who were with him suffered in their heads from mountain sickness, and felt as if they were on the high seas. Here the Provincial spoke to Vaca de Castro and freely offered his services, and the Governor welcomed him very cordially. From this place Vaca de Castro ordered Gómez de Alvarado to go to the camp of Alonso de Alvarado, as he was informed that he had quitted it without leave or assent. He would not allow any one to withdraw from the ranks of captains who had done such good service to the king, without their assent. Gómez de Alvarado felt aggrieved that the Governor should order him to return to where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was. He tried by means of words to excuse himself from going, but this availed him nothing. So he went, and the Provincial, Fr. Tomás, went with him; and when they arrived, he put himself between the two, and prevailed upon them to make friends. Having arrived at the quarters at Guaylas on Easter eve, the Governor resolved to halt there for two days, with the assent of all who came with him.¹

¹ The reader will have observed some repetition and confusion in this chapter. It is as Cieza de León wrote it.

CHAPTER LIX

How the Governor Vaca de Castro held a review of the Spaniards who were with him, and how he sent the captain Lorenzo de Aldana, and also Diego Maldonado, to the camp of Pero Alvarez.

AS the Governor had arrived so near to Guaraz, where the Captain-general Pero Alvarez Holguin was encamped, many came from thence to see him and offer their services for the king, some remaining and others returning. And as in these parts of the Indies there is much craft, and men put so little faith in each other, it was not long before they began to sow discord between the Governor and Pero Alvarez: in this way. To Vaca de Castro they said that Pero Alvarez was suspicious, and that it was his intention, if he were not retained in the rank of General, not to furnish the troops he had raised, nor acknowledge Vaca de Castro as Governor. To Pero Alvarez they said that, owing to what Gómez de Tordoya and Garcilaso de la Vega had said to Vaca de Castro, he and others who had come from his camp showed no inclination to recognize the great service Pero Alvarez had rendered to his Majesty, and advised him not to hand over the banners. While these things that we are relating were going on Vaca de Castro consulted with the Provincial about what they told him. His intention was not to leave the command with Pero Alvarez as General, for it would not be proper that he himself, as Governor for the king, and having to be on the battle-field in person, should share the title of General with any other officer if the enemy attacked them. He also intended to bestow the position of Camp-master on Lorenzo de Aldana. The Provincial gave him his opinion as to what would be best for his Majesty's

service, and advised the Governor to send some trustworthy persons to explain matters privately to Pero Alvarez and persuade him to conform.

The advice of the Provincial appeared to Vaca de Castro to be good, and, seeing that Lorenzo de Aldana, who was an intimate friend and relative of Pero Alvarez, was there, he arranged to send him to speak with Pero Alvarez on his behalf. He was to say that the Governor had the greatest pleasure in recognizing all the service that Pero Alvarez had done his Majesty, but he was to persuade him to deliver the banners to Vaca de Castro, because, the Marquis being deceased, he was now the Governor of the Realm by commission from his Majesty as Pero Alvarez was already aware. As to what had been heard of him, that he desired to retain the command, the Governor would promise that, after himself, no one who was with him or elsewhere in the Realm should have precedence of Pero Alvarez in honour, nor rank above him in the camp. And since Aldana had always been such a loyal servant of his Majesty, and was such a close friend and relative of Pero Alvarez, it was to be expected that he would put his hand to this business in such a way that the king's service would not suffer in any respect. The Governor moreover wished that Diego Maldonado, a citizen of Cuzco, should go with Aldana, as he was a person of importance and well known to all. Lorenzo de Aldana replied cheerfully, expressing a confident hope that the king would be well served by the mission of Diego Maldonado and himself, inasmuch as there could be no reasonable doubt of the loyalty of Pero Alvarez. So they presently set out and arrived at Guaraz in a few days. After having been handsomely welcomed some discussions took place between the parties. Aldana and Maldonado explained to Pero Alvarez the suspicions that had been raised against him, and said that having done such splendid service to

the king's cause he should not tarnish it by not conforming to the Governor's plans. In the end they persuaded him to act with all friendship and loyalty, assuring him that Vaca de Castro would look upon him as the second person in all the camp, and would give him the position of Camp-master. So Pero Alvarez delivered the banners to be given to Vaca de Castro and wrote him a polite letter; and the same was done by the other captains and cavaliers who were there with him.

Meanwhile the Governor Vaca de Castro had set out from where he had halted and was approaching the place where Alonso de Alvarado's camp was pitched, on learning which that officer prepared to receive him in the most honourable way possible, with many festoons of sedges and sweet-smelling flowers round about the tent. As the Governor approached, Alvarado and his officers mounted their steeds and rode out to meet him, in their armour, while the footmen came with pikes, cross-bows, and arquebuses, in squadron formation and in fine order, as if ready to fight, that the Governor might see how dexterous they were in military drill. When Alonso de Alvarado came to the Governor, he dismounted to make obeisance, and Vaca de Castro received him very well, commending him for the great service he had done to his Majesty in raising the banner in his royal name, and for the honour he had acquired in having been the first to declare against the party of the men of Chile. Alvarado replied that he had done what he would never cease to do, which was to serve the king. Presently Gómez de Alvarado and the other gentlemen and soldiers composing the cavalry and the squadron came up to kiss hands, and the Governor embraced them all affectionately and gave them sure hopes that they would be rewarded for what they had done in his Majesty's interests. After saying this and other things they all remounted and went into the camp, where

Vaca de Castro was lodged in quarters that had been prepared for him. He was so happy and contented at seeing himself in command of the troops assembled there, and at finding that Alonso de Alvarado was loyal to him, that he could not conceal his pleasure.

CHAPTER LX

How it became known at Guaraz that Vaca de Castro was in the camp of Alonso de Alvarado, and how Captain Castro went thither, and of Vaca de Castro's going to Guaraz and taking command of the troops there, and of what else happened.

AS the camp at Guaraz was so near to the camp of Alonso de Alvarado the news of what was passing reached there quickly, and Pero Alvarez, with the rest, were greatly pleased. For they had been encamped there many days and were anxious to depart. So they at once made ready to welcome the Governor, and Captain Castro presently set out with a small escort for the place where he was quartered. On arriving in Vaca de Castro's presence the latter greeted him with much affection, as a relation of his own through the Countess of Lemos,¹ with whom Vaca de Castro also claimed near relationship.

¹ The Counts of Lemos derived from Rodríguez Alvarez Osorio, and his wife Aldonça daughter of Alonso Henríquez, Admiral of Castille. Their son Pedro Alvarez Osorio, who died in 1483, was Count of Lemos by right of his wife, Beatriz de Castro, the heiress of Lemos. His great granddaughter was Beatriz de Castro Osorio, Countess of Lemos. She married a son of the Portuguese Duke of Braganza, and had a son who was the 4th Count of Lemos. Vaca de Castro was a cousin. The 4th Count of Lemos had a daughter Teresa married to the 4th Marquis of Cañete, Viceroy of Peru, and a son Beltrán de Castro, governor of Callao under his brother-in-law, to whom Sir Richard Hawkins surrendered, and of whom he said that he was a very noble knight and a perfect gentleman. A later Count of Lemos was Viceroy of Peru.

Captain Pedro Anzures also came out from the camp at Guaraz, by order of Captain Pero Alvarez, because he looked upon him as a very special friend, although there had been some points in dispute between them, too. And Vaca de Castro received Pedro Anzures very cordially. After Pedro Anzures had left Guaraz, Lorenzo de Aldana and Diego Maldonado resolved to go to the Governor and represent Pero Alvarez's keen desire to serve his Majesty, and advised Alvarez, as he was so near, to go himself and see de Castro. He replied that he would go gladly and that he was ready to start. So, leaving their camp well guarded, they set out for that of Alonso de Alvarado, where the Governor was. When Vaca de Castro heard that Pero Alvarez was coming he was very glad, and some gentlemen went out to welcome him. The Governor showed great love and goodwill when he saw Pero Alvarez, and promised to honour him for the good service he had done for his Majesty, and for the satisfactory results throughout the Realm. Pero Alvarez told him of all that had happened since the time when the banner was raised at Cuzco. Gómez de Tordoya, and Garcilaso de la Vega were also there. After Pero Alvarez had spent one day with Vaca de Castro he returned to his camp, not over pleased, some would have us believe, because it seemed to him that it would have been a fair thing to leave him with the rank of General, seeing he had so truly shown himself to be such a loyal servant of his Majesty.

As soon as Pero Alvarez was gone, the Governor, Vaca de Castro, after taking the opinions of all the principal people who were with him, determined to go to Guaraz, where the banners were to be delivered to him. Although he was anxious to see the camp united, and placed under his command as Governor, yet he remained for three days, resting after his long and fatiguing journeys. After that, accompanied by Alonso de Alvarado and the rest of the

people, he set out for the camp of Pero Alvarez Holguin. When they arrived there Holguin came out with all the cavaliers and soldiers he had with him, and gave him the most solemn reception that was possible, quoting the name of the king and declaring that all would serve him with the utmost loyalty until they had wrested the Realm from those who had usurped it, and that they acknowledged and would obey the Governor in the royal name. Having joyously declared these things they fired off their artillery and arquebuses. All the horsemen came fully equipped, with lance in hand, and drew up before the Governor to salute him and welcome him on his arrival. He replied to them very graciously, thanking them for their services to his Majesty; and all made their obeisance together. Taking the royal standard in his hand, Pero Alvarez Holguin then addressed the Governor. He said that when he, and many other cavaliers who were here present, were about to set out for the exploration of the region beyond the Chunchos, they received news of the untoward death of the Marquis and of the great calamity it had brought upon the Realm. Deploping those events they returned to Cuzco, where he, Pero Alvarez, was accepted as Captain-general by all the Spaniards who were there and attended. On being informed that Vaca de Castro was coming, in the King's name and with his authority, he did not care to risk anything, although his force was increased by those in the lists at Cuzco and was fairly well equipped with arms, artillery, and horses, and with strong wills to chastise the tyranny that had risen up; for it was clear that the evil, if he failed, would be greater than the profits of a success. He had therefore traversed the provinces of Jauja and Bombon as far as to Guaraz, intending to wait there for the Governor's instructions. "And since Our Lord," he continued, "hath guided events prosperously, and you are the king's Governor by

virtue of the death of the late Marquis, receive, Sir, the royal standard and the banners which have been raised for this war, under which I and all the cavaliers and soldiers who are here enrol themselves."

Vaca de Castro, with very great delight, took the royal standard in his hands, and gave it to Rodrigo de Campo, his captain of the guard, and thus answered Pero Alvarez:—"You have delivered to me the banners and the men who are here. As you are a knight, and coming from such loyal predecessors as were your ancestors, I expected nothing less." He ordered his captain of the guard to keep the standard, because he did not wish to display any other than the one he had ordered to be made at Quito.

CHAPTER LXI

How the captain Pero Alvarez Holguin felt somewhat aggrieved because the standard he had presented was not displayed, and there was even some commotion; and how Vaca de Castro again made public the decree of His Majesty that he held, and requested, by virtue of it, that he be acknowledged as Governor.

AS soon as Vaca de Castro ordered the standard which Pero Alvarez presented to him to be taken over they all moved off towards the place where the camp was pitched, which was not far away, and, as there were many tents, it looked like a great town. When they were starting Pero Alvarez observed that the standard the Governor had brought with him was displayed, but not so the one he himself had presented. This hurt his feelings very deeply. Some of his friends saw it also, and began to make a disturbance, but not so as to reveal the cause of their annoyance. Pero Alvarez, prudently dissembling his feelings, rode side by side with Vaca de Castro, who had clearly discerned the other's pique. When they arrived at the

camp they found it all decorated with sedges and green boughs. Before entering the quarters which had been arranged for him, he ordered that all should remain where they were, without moving or going to rest, because he had something to say to them. When the Spaniards heard this, none of them went away: on the contrary, all the captains and other principal people wanted to hear why Vaca de Castro directed them to stay. A high stage was set up covered with a cloth of black velvet, and on it was placed a blue velvet chair. Then, without seating himself, he addressed them with a countenance and mien of great authority, and spoke thus:

“Loyal Cavaliers, Renowned Captains, Subjects of Caesar our Emperor and great King:—

“I am not unaware, for I well know, of the great loyalty and generous valour which have moved you to serve his Majesty, and to undo the rebellious tyranny which has been set up by Don Diego and those who subserve his nefarious aims. Be assured that the value which his Majesty, and I in his royal name, will put upon such loyalty cannot be overrated. It has pleased God to at length bring me here, after having suffered many perils by the way and endured such illnesses and unrest as you all now know. I do not think lightly of telling you these things; but rather do I rejoice and feel it a great happiness, and congratulate myself that, with your favour, I may now perform whatsoever is fitting in the king's interest. My desire will be to reward and gratify each according to his service. That my coming might be known in this illustrious army, I sent forward a copy of his Majesty's decree commissioning me to govern these Realms to Captain Pero Alvarez, and to the other officers belonging to it; and now it is proper, having seen the original document, that you should receive and acknowledge me anew as Governor and Captain-general.”

When he had said this he took out the commission and ordered the secretary to read it aloud, and all, holding up their right hands, began to shout out: "Long live the King!" and that they took and held Vaca de Castro to be their Governor. He then turned to them and said that he had to apportion the land among them all. Having finished his speech, the Governor stepped down and went to his lodging, where the captains Alonso de Alvarado, Pero Alvarez Holguin, Garcilaso de la Vega, Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego de Rojas, Pedro Anzures, and Don Pedro Puertocarrero, with many other captains, remained with him. He observed to them that since there are citizens and councillors in all the cities of the Realm, those of each place should meet together and elect municipal officers, to acknowledge him as Governor, just as the army had recognized him as Captain-General: and this they presently did. Then Vaca de Castro retired to rest, and the captains and cavaliers did the same; where we will leave them for the present, in order to say a little about Don Diego de Almagro.

CHAPTER LXII

How, when Don Diego de Almagro arrived at the city of Guamanga, Martin Carrillo, his Camp Master, killed Baltanas; and of his departure from Guamanga for Cuzco, and how he supplied himself with arms, and constructed artillery.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO arrived at Guamanga, and went to the place where lodgings had been prepared for him, and all the inhabitants made a show of great zeal for his service, so that he should not carry them off with him. The city was nearly deserted, however, the rest of the inhabitants having joined Pero Alvarez. His Ensign-

general, Gonzalo Pereira, because they had not found him a lodging promptly enough, went to the public square in a great rage, and, seeing the gibbet which was set up in the centre, he leaned his standard against it, and with no little arrogance, as if he ought to be thought of before his commander, exclaimed that here should be his lodging, since he was not fit for anything better, for they had given him none. Judgments are of God, and in them he shows His great power. Here was this officer, carrying the standard as an emblem and precious object, and resting it against the gallows, where, afterwards, all the captains and principal persons who followed the party of Almagro were put to death by judicial sentence. Don Diego was very angry when he heard of it.

The office of Camp Master had devolved on Martín Carrillo.¹ At Guamanga he had arrested Baltanas on some not very important charge, and while the man was being escorted as a prisoner, some of his friends came out to rescue him. When Don Diego knew of it, he grasped his sword and said that Martín Carrillo should not be interfered with, but that he should be left to execute justice. Martín Carrillo put Baltanas into his tent. The captain Juan Balsa and others went to prevent them from killing him, but when Martín Carrillo saw them coming he ordered a negro to stab his prisoner. Thus was murdered Baltanas, who was a great friend of Cristóbal de Sotelo. Although Don Diego approved of his death, the Camp-master Carrillo was afraid of Sotelo, and, therefore, began to make great friends with García de Alvarado, who had not yet started for Arequipa. Carrillo represented to him that Sotelo wanted to be above everybody and to have no equal, and other similar things; and as Alvarado's mind

¹ In the absence of Sotelo at Cuzco. Carrillo was one of the murderers of the Marquis. He was hanged at Guamanga after the battle of Chupas.

was inflated with pride, little was needed to enlist his sympathies, and arouse his hatred for Sotelo. After these things, Don Diego set out for Cuzco with all his following, but first he sent García de Alvarado to Arequipa to collect more men and arms.

Continuing his journey, Don Diego arrived at Cuzco, where he met with a grand reception, and he and all his men were lodged in the city. A few days afterwards, Diego Méndez came to the town of Plata, where he treacherously captured Antón Alvarez, a resident of the place, and seized all the gold and silver there was in the mines of Porco and in that region; and with all these spoils he took the road to Cuzco. When he drew near, the Governor went out to welcome him, and was very delighted because he brought such a good supply of money to pay the soldiers with. All the men that could be collected were thus brought together, and Cristóbal de Sotelo managed everything extremely well. They were so well supplied with all there was in the land that many had enough and to spare, while none went short. The captains had tables set up in their houses, where the soldiers usually took their meals. But Don Diego and all his followers knew full well that they could retain neither lives nor estates unless they could successfully defend them. After Holguin had passed beyond Jauja many lost heart, and some would have been glad not to be in Cuzco; others, however, with Don Diego, wanted to strengthen their forces in such wise that their enemies would not be able to triumph over them. They, therefore, determined to prepare themselves and make ready a stock of arms. They collected a vast quantity of copper, and Pedro de Candía offered to cast several heavy pieces of artillery. He gave out that he wished to serve Don Diego in that war, although afterwards he seemed to favour the other side. The first moulds he made for the new cannon were very large, but

they got him to have them made smaller. It was now known that Vaca de Castro had joined Pero Alvarez at Guaraz, so they set to work with all possible speed and no little industry. Some brought the copper, others made the charcoal, others prepared the furnaces, and in a short time they had turned out six large and well-made cannon. This, too, notwithstanding that Pero de Candía's castings proved failures three or four times—designedly as it seemed to all, because he repented of having said that he knew how to make them. The excuse he gave was that the metal cooled too quickly, and that the bellows would not work properly.

As soon as the artillery had been cast, orders were given to collect more than 300 silversmiths to repair and make arquebuses and other arms, under the superintendence of Juan Pérez, a very ingenious man who had had charge of the cross-bowmen in the battle of Las Salinas, as we before related. He understood the business so well that the arquebuses he turned out were as good and trusty as if they had been made in Vienna. They made many military saddles of steel, with silver on the pummels and cantles, and finished them with many ornaments and coverings of coloured silk. They also made very gaily painted lances, with their guards and very fine points of adamant, many corslets of silver and gold, and smart well-made helmets of the same, and all other necessary arms for thirty-five¹ men-at-arms ready to join battle.

CHAPTER LXIII

Of what further happened in the city of Cuzco, of the speech Don Diego made to his companions; and of what García de Alvarado did.

IN relating the things that passed in the city of Cuzco between Don Diego de Almagro and his people, and their great activity in equipping themselves with arms, it must be understood that the good captain Cristóbal de Sotelo was quite indefatigable. Out of his own estate he had given 100,000 *pesos* among the soldiers, his companions; and he had sent spies, by order of Don Diego, to find out whether Vaca de Castro was advancing. The Inca Paulo also ordered runners to find out at Jauja what was happening at Guaraz; and when Vaca de Castro had joined Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin the news of their union spread over all the provinces of the Realm in such a way that it soon reached Cuzco, and the Indians said that Vaca de Castro had brought many Spaniards and foot-soldiers. This news did not fail to cause some stir—not that it caused dismay to young Don Diego and his accomplices. They entered into consultation, he and his captains and principal supporters in the city, to decide what had best be done. They agreed to leave Cuzco as soon as possible, and to induce Vaca de Castro not to give battle nor cause an encounter, because they were waiting to see the royal command of Caesar, and his commission, in order not to go beyond his orders in any way. They knew not the hour when García de Alvarado would come; but ordering all the Spaniards of his party who were in Cuzco, horse and foot, to

assemble in a place where they could hear him, Don Diego thus addressed them :

“ You all know, and no one can cease to remember, the great worth of my father to this Realm, and the constancy with which he tried to open up the country; also the desire he displayed not to fail in his duty to his Majesty in a single point, and the cruel death they inflicted upon him, as witnessed by some of the veterans who were with him at Las Salinas and are now with me to follow in his footsteps. Afterwards, having endured this great calamity for you and for me, and being in Lima, I was so badly treated by the Marquis that in truth I often abhorred my life and wished for death, which he was about to order to be inflicted on me. To escape from such odious bondage, and to avenge my father’s death, I took the life of the Marquis, which he justly forfeited, for the life he took or ordered to be taken of one who had so greatly honoured and befriended him. Now that the Marquis is dead—and even if he were not dead—let it not appear to you that we are doing any ill service to his Majesty in wishing to conduct the government that he conferred upon my father. His Majesty even empowered my father to nominate a successor to administer his government in the royal name in the event of his own death; and that all who were unaware of this may now take it for certain, I have resolved to order the commissions and grants that his Majesty issued to my father to be read before you all. Mind ye, therefore, that my desire goes no farther than to see myself placed in full charge of the province of New Toledo, in order that I may pay back the much I owe to you, as well as reward the services you rendered my father in past wars and explorations.”

Then, having ordered them all to go to an open field outside the city, the commissions held from his Majesty by the late Adelantado were read. Amongst them was one

which said: "Whomsoever shall be nominated by him as Governor after his own days, him shall the municipalities obey and accept as his successor." His father's will gave further proof wherein there is a clause showing that he appointed his son Don Diego to be his successor as Governor, and Diego de Alvarado to be his executor. As soon as these documents had been read, and which the soldiers were not a little glad to hear, Don Diego concluded his speech in these words: "Now that you know this to be clear, I appeal to you to be my faithful friends and companions, and not to forsake me until it is seen what my fate will be, and what his Majesty will order. Vaca de Castro does not bring any power or authority with him to dispossess me of the government; and do you bear in mind how many and great were the services of my father, and the ingratitude of the Pizarros."

So well did this young man know how to address the Spaniards that he won all their hearts and incited them to follow him against any leader who might come against them. Most of the soldiers who were in Cuzco, indeed, were men of worth and of white blood; and, as they had shown themselves to be friends and supporters of Don Diego from the beginning, they bestirred themselves to follow him with a constancy which was unwavering, and not—as some mean minds are wont to believe—feigned. It is said that they felt such hatred against Cardinal Loaysa,¹ knowing that Vaca de Castro had been appointed through his influence, that they burnt him in effigy, and spoke many insulting words against him.

¹ Fray García de Loaysa, President of the Council of the Indies, Archbishop of Seville, and confessor to Charles V. He was a brother of Dr. Gerónimo de Loaysa, the first Archbishop of Lima and friend of Vaca de Castro. The appointment of Vaca de Castro by the Emperor, would have been settled on the recommendation of the Council of the Indies, submitted through its President.

García de Alvarado had gone, as we said, to the lowlands, by order of Don Diego, and was to raid the coast tracts as far as Arequipa. He went by way of Lunahuana, plundering all he could, and seizing all the arms and horses he found. He arrived at Arequipa, where he committed gross excesses, and killed a resident called Montenegro, and another Spaniard; and they do say that he was so grasping that he went the length of carrying off the sacred vessels of silver and gold from inside the churches. After he had inflicted not a few outrages at Arequipa he set out with the reinforcements and arms he had been able to get, for Cuzco, where he was warmly welcomed by Don Diego de Almagro. Sotelo knew very well about the murder of Baltanas at Guamanga by Martín Carrillo, and that there had been conversations between him and García de Alvarado, which proved to him that they were his covert enemies. Considering that it is not necessary to be too precise in such times, he concealed what he felt in his breast, and spoke to García de Alvarado, as soon as he arrived at Cuzco with others, desiring to be on friendly terms. Alvarado said that Cristóbal de Sotelo had done wrong in nominating Juan Gutiérrez Malaver to be captain of the men raised in Cuzco, and that he had not any intention to condone or overlook it.

Now Sotelo was the officer whose duty it was to provide what was necessary in the city, and he took great care that the soldiers should not commit any robberies or excesses nor provoke the native Indians. But war brings with it unbridled license, and soldiers do not consider they show pluck unless they appropriate the goods and property of peaceful people. And so two soldiers, who called themselves the Machines, broke into the house of Captain Gabriel de Rojas, to kill another soldier and make off with what they could. In fine they killed him, and though they tried to shelter themselves in a place where Sotelo could

not arrest them, they did not succeed; for as soon as he got notice of their crime he promptly had them searched for and ordered their arrest. He told them to confess, for they would be presently put to death for the crime they had committed.

CHAPTER LXIV

How the captains García de Alvarado and Saucedo went to ask Cristóbal de Sotelo to pardon the soldiers he had in prison, and of their fate; and of what else happened until García de Alvarado killed the good knight Cristóbal de Sotelo.

AS the soldiers in Cuzco were not well under control, their feeling was that, provided it were not against military discipline or matters relating to the war, there ought to be no punishment for any crime they might commit. They therefore became very riotous when they heard of the imprisonment of the Machines. Don Diego presently knew of the arrest, but took no steps. García de Alvarado and Saucedo determined each to go to Sotelo, and ask him to pardon those men that he had under arrest. Saucedo being the first to call at the prison, admission was refused him, nor would Sotelo do anything in response to the request made to him. Then Saucedo shouted at him that he had better take care what he was about, for the prisoners were his friends and he was going to demand justice. Cristóbal de Sotelo was much enraged at these words, and answered by telling Saucedo to go to his lodging; if not, he would put him where he was soon going to put the prisoners. Saucedo then went away and joined García de Alvarado, who, by this time, was also near; but although he too knocked at the door, they would not open it nor answer him. Sotelo, after holding an enquiry into

the affair for which the men had been arrested, sentenced one of them to be hanged.

Now that the day was approaching when the field of Chupas and its slopes would absorb much noble Spanish blood, and the party of the Almagros would come to an end, it was meet, and necessary for its destruction, and for the due commemoration of the Marquis's obsequies, that envy and malice should bring about the death and removal of the principal captains among the men of Chile, so that those of the Pachacama party might encounter less resistance in completing the triumph that was to be theirs. For Francisco de Chaves being already dead, and Juan de Herrada having been poisoned (as they say) by Juan Balsa, the only captains left to them were Cristóbal de Sotelo and García de Alvarado. And so, that these should come to an end like the others, it fell out in this wise.¹

García de Alvarado, being a spirited youth, and having come from Arequipa very proud of bringing in so much stolen treasure, began to feel aggrieved because Sotelo was more considered than himself and always first and foremost above the rest. He set about to making friendships, feigned or true, with many who had been soldiers under Francisco de Chaves, and were on bad terms with Sotelo because they said their old captain's death was due to him. García de Alvarado now wormed himself into their

¹ This gives a wrong impression. The captains of the old Adelantado Almagro had not all come to an end. Most of them had declined to take part with the murderers of Pizarro. Francisco de Chaves, it is true, had been murdered by Juan de Herrada. Of the others Diego de Alvarado had returned to Spain. Gómez de Alvarado and Juan de Sayavedra had left the young Almagro at Jauja, and returned to Lima. Montemayor and Guevara were actually with the army of Vaca de Castro. Sotelo alone had remained with young Almagro, from devotion to his father's memory, although he had protested against the murder of the Marquis.

García de Alvarado was not an old captain of Almagro. He is first heard of in history as one of the accomplices of the murderers—a truculent young ruffian.

favour so as to make use of them when necessity should arise; though he thought little of Don Diego de Almagro himself. He next began to distribute the money he had brought among those who were his friends and who appeared to him to be on his side, glad always to asperse Sotelo and to belittle his affairs. The accomplices with García de Alvarado in this business, and those who went among the soldiers for him, probing their dispositions, were Rodrigo Núñez, who had been the old Adelantado's Camp Master, a man of little knowledge and less judgment, Martín Carrillo, Juan Rodríguez Barragán, and many others.

Cristóbal de Sotelo did not fail to perceive García de Alvarado's design against him, but as he was prudent he pretended to treat it with unconcern and not pay much attention to it. Nevertheless they say that he spoke to Don Diego on the subject. But since García de Alvarado had won over many of the soldiers who were in the city, and some of the veterans who had followed the banners of the old Adelantado, he covertly and of set purpose raised the question as to who was to be General of the camp, himself or Cristóbal de Sotelo, so that they should declare that he and no other should be the one. In those days Sotelo was laid up with a calenture, owing to which he passed a serpent or worm from below, a fathom in length, and he rather suspected that he had been given poisonous herbs. Don Diego and all the captains and citizens went to visit him, and so did many of the soldiers who were his friends. He said before some of them that he cared nothing for any Alvarados, past or present, the which being overheard, it was not long before García de Alvarado got to know of it. He was offended, nursed evil intentions against Sotelo, and resolved to kill him. Riding one day through the city with some of his friends, García de Alvarado met Juan Balsa, who was also mounted; and

proposed to him that they should go and visit the captain Cristóbal de Sotelo, as he was ill. Juan Balsa said he was willing, and, taking leave of Alvarado's other companions, they went. There went with them one Juan García, of Guadalcanal, and Diego Pérez Becerra, great friends of García de Alvarado. When they reached Sotelo's lodging they entered his bedroom, and after a few words had passed, García de Alvarado said: "Why did you say that you held the Alvarados as nought, and other things which have been reported to me, and are to my detriment or against my honour? You must give me satisfaction." At the time when this happened, Sotelo, besides being ill, had no friend or servant present with him, although there were usually plenty in the house. As his illness had not diminished, but indeed was rather worse, he replied that he was not in a condition to answer him or give satisfaction; for that he was not himself, and indeed so ill that he was passing devils and serpents from his body. Juan Balsa showed himself, in his words, to be favourable to Sotelo. He said to García de Alvarado that it was not a time for settling such affairs, and he got up as if about to go. García de Alvarado, seeing him rise, did the same and took leave of Sotelo. Cristóbal de Sotelo, being a man of spirit, and one who held his honour very dear, after thinking over for a little in his own mind what had passed between him and García de Alvarado, loudly called him back, and said: "I do not remember having said of you nor of any Alvarados what you allege, but if I did say anything heretofore I repeat that, being who I am, I do not concern myself much about Alvarados." When García de Alvarado heard that he exclaimed in a great rage, "I swear to God that I shall have to kill you, Sir Traitor." Sotelo, jumping out of bed, cried out "I will kill you."

García de Alvarado, clapping his hand upon his sword, made towards the infirm Sotelo to wound him, but Juan

Balsa, with great promptitude, made a spring at the assailant, and threw his arms round him. Sotelo went into an inner chamber, where there was one of his servants, named Lizcano, and looking round for arms, saw only a sword and a cloak. With these he came out to where García de Alvarado and Juan Balsa were talking. By this time some of García de Alvarado's friends had come along, and had surrounded the house. Alvarado had freed himself from Juan Balsa and now came in alone, with his sword raised, looking for Sotelo. But when Sotelo's servant saw him advancing he assailed him from behind, and gripped him tightly in his arms. Sotelo, seeing his enemy so near, came forward to kill him; but Juan Balsa stayed his hands, saying that he must not do such a thing. Meanwhile Alvarado, although the servant Lizcano bore him down, managed to get clear and wounded him on the head, and then made at Sotelo to kill him, and gave him several stabs and cuts. Hearing the noise, Juan García, whom we mentioned above, came in and wounded Sotelo so seriously that, in a short time, he lay dead on the floor, clasped by Juan Balsa, either to rescue him from death or in his eagerness to see him dead—which latter is my belief and I hold to be the more certain of what they say. In this manner died the foremost and most upright leader among the party of the "men of Chile." In his death may be clearly seen the fall and destruction of them all, for had he remained alive, he would by his prudence have guided subsequent affairs in a different way from that in which they came about.

CHAPTER LXV

Of the concern shown by Don Diego and many of the Chile party at the death of the captain Cristóbal de Sotelo; and of how García de Alvarado and others fortified themselves in his quarters, and Don Diego wanted to attack them there.

THE news of the murder of Captain Cristóbal de Sotelo soon spread throughout the city, and great was the excitement, for he was beloved by many soldiers for his valour, by the veterans who had served under the old Adelantado, and by those others who had recently chosen to follow the banners of Don Diego. They were so affected that it did not fail to be evident from their sad countenances and from the tears that flowed from their eyes. With sorrowful lamentations they girded on their arms and repaired to the quarters of Don Diego, abandoning García de Alvarado, and calling him vile and cowardly for murdering Sotelo when he was disabled by sickness. They desired to have the traitor delivered into their hands that they might put him to death for daring to take the life of the captain they so greatly adored. Presently Juan Balsa went to young Don Diego's quarters and apprised him of what had happened, though he was out at the time. Don Diego was much concerned, because some told him that García de Alvarado wanted to deal with him in the same way, and revolt against him with the whole camp. Although Don Diego showed no weakness, but was anxious to go and seize or kill the murderer there and then, they advised him to enter the house of Pedro de Oñate, who was afterwards Camp Master, whence he ordered the alarm to be given through the city. He went to the great square, with those who rallied round him, whence it was his intention to go and attack the house

where García de Alvarado was ensconced. The captain Felipe Gutiérrez and other prudent cavaliers urged him not to do this, because it was not a time for expending men's lives, they said, and it might give rise to a mutiny against Don Diego himself, for it was known that some captains and many soldiers had a true friendship for García de Alvarado, and that if things came to blows, all their fury would be against Don Diego. He was thus persuaded not to attack the house in which García de Alvarado had shut himself up with the others who stood by him. Martín Carrillo, although he no longer enjoyed the post of Camp Master, but was only a private person, went out and about the city, without any authority whatever, forbidding everyone, on pain of death, to quit their houses. Don Diego, observing the luke-warmness and lack of will to carry out his wishes in those who were with him, returned very sadly to his house.

When the quarrelsome García de Alvarado saw how prosperously, and favourably to his wishes, the affair of the murder of Sotelo had turned out, he sent some of his friends to induce as many as they could to side with him; and since the Spaniards in Peru are so changeable and fickle, and hold to no faith but their own private interests, seeing that García de Alvarado had more power than he whom they had chosen and appointed as their Governor, they joined him who seemed the stronger in greater numbers than he expected, offering their arms and their persons as far as he might wish to avail himself of them. Don Diego was now in his house, as we said, feeling very deeply the death of Cristóbal de Sotelo, and the fact that he was not strong enough to punish the author of so foul a deed, Taking counsel with his captains and principal persons as to what it would be best to do, they agreed that it was not expedient, nor was it a time to form themselves into cliques and parties, for the enemy was at their gates. So

a truce was arranged between Don Diego and García de Alvarado. Don Diego covertly sent to say that García de Alvarado had better stay in his house and not come out of it, because no other course was convenient. García de Alvarado was so haughty and presumptuous that he cared very little for any words or commands of Don Diego: but he answered, in bad faith, that he would do as he was ordered, and would not leave his house until it should be Don Diego's pleasure.

CHAPTER LXVI

How Don Diego de Almagro gave Sotelo's troop to Diego Méndez, and how García de Alvarado was killed, and Cristóbal de Sotelo avenged, at his hands.

AFTER the events we have related had passed in the city of Cuzco, there did not cease to be some tumult in the city following the death of Cristóbal de Sotelo. Don Diego, who felt most keenly the insolence of García de Alvarado, reflected within himself what scheme would lead to the satisfaction of his desire, which was that no one else, with the example of García de Alvarado before him, should attempt another treason such as that person had perpetrated. He also wanted to get rid of García de Alvarado as a companion, in order to advance his desire and give effect to his plans. Summoning to a consultation the captains and old soldiers who were entirely faithful to him, through having followed the banners of the Adelantado his father, Juan Balsa was with the assent of them all nominated Captain-General—a man unworthy of such a charge; and the troop lately Cristóbal de Sotelo's was entrusted to Diego Méndez, because he was known to cherish enmity against García de Alvarado, who was still

esconced in the fortified house with his supporters. As the soldiers in Cuzco had now received news of the entry of Vaca de Castro into the Realm, they felt the necessity for peace among themselves in order to be in a position to resist attack, come whence it might; and they therefore approached their captains, with a view to mediation between Don Diego and García de Alvarado. But as the latter knew he was to blame in reference to past transactions, he asked that Don Diego would make him his Captain-General and give him sufficient power to govern the camp in Don Diego's name. Failing that, Alvarado would not trust to promises, but in that way his person would be secure and he would serve Don Diego loyally. The latter desired to punish Alvarado, but, seeing there was no other course open, he agreed to give him the power that was requested and to appoint him his General, first arranging with Juan Balsa and others to concert crafty and cautious plans to kill him. So Alvarado was presently sent a commission naming him General and Deputy-Governor. When they delivered it to him he tore it up in front of the officer who had brought it, and spoke ugly words against Don Diego because it did not include power to displace and appoint captains, declaring that he was not the man to be contented with limited power. And as he had heard it said that Juan Balsa had previously been named for General, he conceived that Balsa must have intrigued with Don Diego not to give the full powers he claimed. So he talked with some friends about a way to kill Balsa, by sending to call him up and then stabbing him. His friends replied they would execute his command.

So Alvarado sent one of his henchmen to Juan Balsa, requesting him to be so particularly kind as to come to his house, as he wished to talk some things over with him. When the messenger arrived and Juan Balsa, who was not a little wary and cunning, learnt the nature of his errand,

he immediately guessed it was to complain about the commission Don Diego had sent to Alvarado; and he thought that he might soothe him by means of smooth words and lure him to the house of Don Diego, where he could be killed. So he went with the messenger to García de Alvarado's house, where he was courteously received with outward goodwill, though with the real object and intention we have mentioned. When he had come in, García de Alvarado said to him: "I am astonished, Juan Balsa, that Don Diego should have wished everyone to know that he does not show me the friendship due for the splendid things I have done in his service and the loyalty with which I have followed him. Ingratitude is a sin which is not easily forgiven. The leaders who take part in wars like this, and whom Don Diego treats as if they were his vassals, endure much at the hands of his friends, and put up with many things to avoid coming to a rupture with them and losing his favour. He has chosen to show as much anger with me for the death of Sotelo, as if his happiness depended wholly upon that captain's life, and his troubles and misfortunes arose solely from his death. He does not consider the good reason I had for killing Sotelo, and the little cause he had to oust me from his service. But after all, neither does my honour nor my personal existence require that I should change my fortunes or deny him my friendship. If Don Diego will consider the times, and how profitable it is to have friends, and will send me the commission with adequate power, as I asked for it to be, he shall keep me as devoted to his service as I have been from after the death of the old Marquis until now."

García de Alvarado believed that Juan Balsa would answer peevishly, which would afford an occasion for killing him. But Juan Balsa, who well knew what he was about, replied very blandly, saying that if Don Diego had not sent Alvarado power in the commission to appoint

and discharge captains, it was owing to an omission by the scrivener, and that he himself should draw the commission and have it written out for him, Balsa, to then bring back signed by Don Diego. As for himself, added Balsa, he wished it so, knowing that it would be advantageous for them all to have Don García as General. It was true that Don Diego had nominated him, Balsa, as General some few days previously, but he had voluntarily declined the charge, desiring that Alvarado should be the lord and chief over them all, because he was so much looked up to by the people.

These things, and others of like plausibility, said Juan Balsa—resourceful man that he was in such contingencies—to García de Alvarado, under an artful veil of great caution. Alvarado, believing what Balsa told him, replied very graciously, giving him to know that he had sent for him to kill him, but now that he understood his views and good wishes he would always look upon him as a true friend. He asked him to procure the commission he desired from Don Diego, and let him know how truly he was his servant and friend. Juan Balsa, after promising that he would do this, departed for the house of Don Diego, where he gave him an account of all that had passed between him and Alvarado. He and others then advised that the commission should be sent to García de Alvarado in the form he wanted, and that, when time and place should subserve, he should be killed. Don Diego did not like it, feeling that the scheme betrayed a lack of courage, and that he was losing his authority; but, seeing that it was advisable, he ordered the commission to be made out in the form García de Alvarado wanted and, after he had signed it, he sent it to him. With this García de Alvarado felt himself secure, and was content. He went forth from his quarters well escorted, and was proclaimed in the public square of the city, to the sound of many

trumpets, and was acknowledged by all the soldiers. Meanwhile Don Diego bided his time for a chance to kill Alvarado, fearing lest this person might want to do the same with him as he had done to Cristóbal de Sotelo.

CHAPTER LXVII

In which the preceding chapter is concluded, down to the death of García de Alvarado.

WITH the passing of the events we have narrated, there did not cease to be deep mistrust between the one party and the other. Some soldiers insisted to García de Alvarado that he should kill Don Diego, and march with the remains of his army against Vaca de Castro, wherever he might appear, for they did not deem it safe to trust Don Diego any longer, nor others who had shown themselves to be their enemies. Alvarado, who was very inconstant, but a bold youth to boot, did not hesitate about doing what his friends advised, or killing Don Diego. At this time there was, in Juan Balsa's troop, a cavalier named San Millán,¹ a native of Segovia belonging to the family of the Bocudos, very rich merchants. He had been one of the *conquistadores* in various parts of this Realm, and was present at the murder of the Marquis. He was very liberal and a great spendthrift, having lavished upwards of 80,000 *pesos de oro* upon the soldiers in camp. When García de Alvarado was nominated General, San Millán wished to offer him his friendship and service; and as San Millán was prodigal of his means, he pressed Alvarado, after having made him many offers, to accept the hospitality of

¹ One of the murderers. He was with Pizarro at Caxamarca, and got his share of the Atabualpa ransom.

his house and friends, at a social reception he wished to give him. García de Alvarado, knowing that San Millán's words to him were spoken with good intention, without any afterthought or admixture of malice, thanked him for the invitation, and replied that he would be happy to do what San Millán had asked of him, especially as they might bring together at the reception or banquet many who were disaffected towards each other, and so promote friendship among all; and he told San Millán that he might get ready for any day he wished, as he would like to invite Don Diego. They say that, after this, García de Alvarado conferred with his friends about murdering Diego Méndez,¹ Alonso de Sayavedra, Diego de Hoces,¹ Juan Gutiérrez Malaver,² and other captains and soldiers who were deemed to have been friends of Sotelo. They even resolved to kill Don Diego de Almagro himself, and after these murders, to send messengers to Vaca de Castro, offering to deliver up the camp and render him obedience, upon which Alvarado was to be made captain, so that he might go forth to explore some remote and unknown portions of these Realms. After having formed this conspiracy, its authors and conspirants, who were not few, set about preparing to carry it out, and García de Alvarado, when he had arranged it, went to Don Diego and announced that San Millán wished to give an entertainment and had invited him. He begged that Don Diego would be present and allow the captains to come too, as it was right that all should enjoy themselves.

Don Diego quite understood that García de Alvarado did not say this in good faith or of his own choice exactly; but as it seemed that this might open a way in which to get Alvarado killed, he accepted the invitation courteously, and observed that he thought it would be good for them to

Murderers of the Marquis.

² Accomplice.

have some diversion and enjoy themselves. This being arranged, García de Alvarado took his leave, and returned home to complete his arrangements, while San Millán went about collecting all manner of things for the banquet, buying wine at 300 *pesos* the *arroba*, for the guests to drink. Don Diego conferred with his friends, and those he most trusted, and concerted plans for them to be prepared to take García de Alvarado's life at this reception that he wanted to take place. Juan Balsa, Diego de Hoces,¹ and Juan Gutiérrez Malaver, Diego Méndez and others, agreed to comply with the mandate in this affair and leagued themselves against Alvarado. Being all imbued with this good purpose, the afternoon arrived. Don Diego had retired to his chamber a little after vespers, and with him those who were to kill García de Alvarado. Stretched on his bed Don Diego pretended to be ill, in order that Alvarado should come and want to take him to the reception or supper, for all had dined already and there was to be a second repast, at which each party expected to achieve its deed. Don Diego ordered Martín Cote¹ to take the guard that night, and see that the soldiers were well supplied with bullets, for what might happen. Martín Cote sent his ensign with fifty arquebusiers to carry out the orders given by Don Diego. When they arrived at the gate of Don Diego's house they were secretly ordered to fire the salute without bullets, but at the second round to fire with bullets and to be in readiness to obey further orders. By this time the supper was ready, and García de Alvarado sent a request, couched in submissive terms, that Don Diego would come to it, intending to put into practice what had been preconcerted. Don Diego, who was not rash where nothing less than his life was concerned, pretended of set purpose that his illness was worse, so that

¹ One of the murderers of the Marquis.

García de Alvarado should come to him and there would be a chance to kill him. When the messenger came, Don Diego answered—"Tell the Captain-general that I am feeling so unwell that I do not want any supper; but that out of regard for him I will go presently to where he wishes me to be present." On the messenger's return, it seemed to García de Alvarado that it would be bad manners not to go to Don Diego, since it was plain that he was unwell, and therefore, so that they should get him to where they wished without arousing suspicion, he said to those who were with him—"Hi! Gentlemen, let us go to the Governor, for they tell me he is not well." Thereupon he left his house and went to where the entertainment was to be, with many men well armed, and shielded by every precaution. He himself wore his sword and a short coat of mail, thick and of a fine mesh. On the way he met Martín Carrillo, a fast friend of his and an enemy to Don Diego. Learning whither Alvarado was going, Carrillo urged him to go back, for that, if he went on, he was lost, and if Don Diego should find him in his house it would certainly be his death.

García de Alvarado, with his usual audacity, turned and said "Who is man enough to kill me? Let us go. Don't you be afraid; for I am not." Martín Carrillo, divining the just death that awaited Alvarado, again warned him not to go, declaring that he would never return from thence. Alvarado, not heeding these remonstrances, arrived before the entrance to Xapana, which was where Don Diego had his quarters. On seeing so many arquebusiers he was troubled. They gave him the salute without bullets, which reassured him, and he passed and entered the house. He had no sooner gone in than the arquebusiers reloaded with bullets. He entered through the *sala* accompanied by all his friends, and went on to the room where Don Diego was. The captain of the guard, Juan de Guzmán,

stood at the door. Alvarado pushed abruptly into the room, asking where was the Governor. As soon as he was inside, with three or four of his friends, the captain Juan de Guzmán shut the door and secured it well with a halberd, to prevent the others who had come with him from entering. Don Diego was much elated that Alvarado had come to him. He got off the bed where he was reclining, and called out to those who were with him, "Hi! Gentlemen, let us go to supper." García de Alvarado said, "What has been your lordship's illness? I am much troubled to hear that you have not been well." Don Diego answered that it was nothing now, and that they might well go to supper. As he said this, Juan Balsa as Lieutenant-general, stepped forward and threw himself upon García de Alvarado and closed with him saying, "You are arrested in the King's name." Don Diego, drawing his sword, cried out, "Arrested, no; but dead—yes!" and so saying he gave Alvarado a bad wound on the head, while those who were present struck blows at him, and pierced his body with many wounds. He only exclaimed "God protect me! where are my friends?" Saying this he fell dead on the floor, and paid for what he did to Cristóbal de Sotelo. His friends, when they knew what had occurred, were scared at such a strange proceeding, and went away, some in one direction and some in another, to hide in various buildings of the city. Don Diego desired nothing more than to punish García de Alvarado; and now that he had him dead the Governor pardoned all those who had figured as Alvarado's friends. Many came accordingly to kiss hands and to renew their offers of service to him.

On the death of Alvarado there was great relief among the rest of the Almagro party, for owing to his arrogance and presumption all wished him ill. He ended by dying a death in conformity with the life he had led, and paid for his complicity in the murder of the Marquis,

the robberies and outrages he committed, and the death he inflicted on Sotelo—above all, for his treachery in wanting to gain renown, and obtain pardon at the expense of the youth Don Diego and the others. García de Alvarado was a cavalier aged twenty-nine years, of handsome mien and comely form, ambitious, proud, highly presumptuous, and very vain. He was very spirited and brave, but fond of low company, and prone to listen to their advice. They robbed his house, where he kept a deal of plate, and other articles of value.

By this time the members of the Almagro party had fallen not far short of effacing each other, and their tyranny had almost triumphed over themselves, so that it seemed as if it had pleased God our Lord that the posthumous honours of the Marquis should be celebrated with the blood of the very men who were foremost in his murder, and in committing so great an atrocity as that of which they were guilty. Considering in my own mind the ill-starred deaths of Francisco de Chaves, Juan de Herrada, Cristóbal de Sotelo, and García de Alvarado, who were the principal leaders of the Almagro band, and the bad ends they all came to, I am astonished that the promoters of seditions and tyrannies which have arisen did not take warning from them, to estrange themselves from such a hateful and iniquitous thing as the usurpation of the kingdom from its natural Lord.¹ But the people in Peru do not know how to take warning from the example of others. Let us leave this, however, and say a little about the Governor Vaca de Castro.

¹ He means Charles V, not the Inca Manco.

CHAPTER LXVIII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro decided to send his army to the province of Janja, while he himself went to Lima.

THE reader will remember that, farther back, we told how Vaca de Castro arrived in the province of Guaraz, and how he was acknowledged as Governor and Captain-general in the name of the King: and other things. A few days later an assembly of captains and principal cavaliers was summoned, to consider what ought to be done for the pacification of the Realm. It was agreed that the captains should be posted to the command of the several companies, and that they and the sergeants and other officers were to understand that the war was undertaken by the Governor Vaca de Castro's orders. He appointed the captains to their former companies, and issued commissions to them without making any change except in the case of Pero Alvarez Holguin, who still looked to be General. But Vaca de Castro wanted that office and dignity for himself, which Pero Alvarez begrudged him. These things having been arranged by the Governor, he asked the captains and principal cavaliers to rejoice and make merry, seeing that the mercy of God our Lord in uniting their forces together had been very great. On hearing this, they arranged tournaments with canes and rings;¹ and the Governor entertained them at his tent. After their festivities he named the licentiate León as chief magistrate of the camp; and because Pero Alvarez learnt that his authority as Camp Master was not to extend beyond military affairs, and not to touch the administration of justice, he began

¹ Tilting at the ring.

to complain, and to say that that was how his services were being requited. Vaca de Castro desired to establish complete concord among his people ; so without withdrawing the duty given to the licentiate León, he sent to tell Pero Alvarez that, since he was a gentleman, he should give his attention to serving God and the King, and that, in the exercise of the office he held, he might take over certain pikemen over whom to be captain ; for the Governor desired that, except himself, no person there should rank before Pero Alvarez. With this order all questions ended between the Governor and his officers and all were content, unless it were the captain Gómez de Tordoya, who entertained enmity towards Pero Alvarez. Although he was given a company of mounted men, he would not take charge of them, but wanted to be merely a private soldier entering into the battle. He was a very close friend and kinsman of the captain Garcilaso de la Vega, and tried to persuade him by means of words to take the same course as himself. Garcilaso wishing to see the realm at peace and to do just what might be his Majesty's pleasure, would not, in all loyalty, do anything but what the Governor ordered him.

These things having passed, and the companies having become known to their respective captains, it was found that they had no good pikes, which caused them great concern. But there happened to be one Cervantes there, a resident of Lima, and this man knew where there was wood suitable for making pikes, in the province of Jauja, where he held some Indians in *encomienda*. He offered to go and see to the matter. He went to Jauja and arranged with the Indians to cut wood in the forests, for making pikes sufficient for the war, and many very good ones were turned out. The captains then again entered into consultation with the Governor, and they agreed that it would be well to send scouts into the province of Jauja to learn the

state of affairs beyond and gain that region for the King. It having been decided that this should be done, they told off Captain Diego de Rojas, with troops sufficient for the purpose, to undertake this duty. Diego de Rojas thereupon set out with those who were to go with him. After further consultation between the Governor and the captains it was their opinion that the Governor should go down to the coast valleys and proceed to Lima, where his lieutenant Aliaga was in charge, in order to obtain money for the payment of the soldiers, and to enlist men wherewith to increase his forces. They also agreed that the captain Pedro Anzures should go to the city of San Miguel and arrest a certain Santiago, a rich man who lived there, and had plenty of money, and who had shown himself to be a friend of Don Diego. His goods were to be sequestrated, and any money of his that they might find was to be brought to Lima by way of the coast road. So Pedro Anzures presently set out. Then the Governor ordered the captains Pero Alvarez and Alonso de Alvarado to lead the troops into the province of Jauja without halting, and form the camp there pending the Governor's arrival from Lima to join them. Having ordered these things, Vaca de Castro proceeded to Lima, sending messengers before him to announce his approach. As all those who were left in Lima were friends of the Marquis, they were very glad when they heard that the Governor was coming, and they gave him a grand reception. He made his entry on the eve of *Corpus Christi*.

The licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal, who was then in Lima, came out to welcome him, as well as his brother Illán Suárez de Caravajal the factor, the captain Diego de Agüero, the treasurer Alonso de Riquelme, the lieutenant Jerónimo de Aliaga and the magistrates, and with them the Governor Barrionuevo. After they had kissed hands and the ceremonies usual at similar functions had been

gone through, Vaca de Castro was lodged, and very well regaled by the inhabitants. As he was entering the city the Factor addressed him in the name of all the rest, saying that he was as welcome as the *Gran Capitan* had been in Italy, as to all that would conduce to the service of his Majesty, and that he and all the gentlemen of that city were ready to serve him and do all things in his Majesty's interests, like loyal subjects. The Governor thanked him and showed pleasure at what the Factor had said.

CHAPTER LXIX

Of what Vaca de Castro did in Lima, of the arrival of the captains at Jauja, and how Pedro Anzures went to San Miguel.

AFTER the Governor Vaca de Castro arrived in Lima, and was welcomed and acknowledged as related in the preceding chapter, he was informed by the factor Illán Suárez, his brother the licentiate, and Francisco de Godoy, of all the events that had happened there. He put before them and the other officials and magistrates how the captains Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin had collected a brilliant array of troops, all desirous of serving His Majesty, and determined not to rest until the tyranny of Don Diego should be put down. He found in them all a true and earnest readiness to do the same. In Lima he also found Gómez de Alvarado,¹ brother of the Adelantado Don Pedro, with whom he was much pleased. Exertions were made to raise money, and to collect men

¹ This was the elder Gómez de Alvarado (no relation to the other), one of the old captains of the Adelantado Almagro. He disapproved of the murder of the Marquis, and of the subsequent proceedings of the young Almagro, and had therefore remained at Lima.

to augment his force. They were called up at the sound of the drum, and when they had all been mustered, Gómez de Alvarado was made captain of the mounted men, and Juan Vélez de Guevara of those on foot. At this time Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez, with Garcilaso and the rest, had gone forward from Guaraz and marched by stages until they arrived in the province of Jauja, where they found Diego de Rojas. They ordered him to advance to the city of Guamanga¹ and make a fort there, where he was to wait until the rest of the division should arrive, pending the receipt of news of what Don Diego was doing, and whether he had departed from Cuzco.

The camp was pitched in Jauja, and the captains and men-at-arms were well supplied by the *Guancas*, natives of that valley. Vaca de Castro was at Lima procuring necessities, where the captain Juan de Sayavedra, the licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal, the captains Diego de Agüero and Francisco de Godoy, with the secretary Jerónimo de Aliaga, had attached themselves to him, whilst Montenegro and other inhabitants of Lima offered to go with him. Diego Gavilán the *conquistador*,² a native of Guadalcanal, did the same, and they prepared to leave Lima.

The captain Pedro Anzures made such good speed that he soon reached the city of San Miguel, and arrested Diego de Santiago, from whom he took 18,000 *pesos de oro*. With this he proceeded to Lima, and was welcomed by the Governor. The money brought by Anzures supplied pay and outfits for the soldiers. In the port of Callao there lay anchored the great galleon, with four other ships. Not knowing what might be the result of the war, Vaca de Castro thought it well to hold the sea secure, so as to be able to escape by it if they should find them-

¹ Now called Ayacucho.

² *i.e.*, with Pizarro at Caxamarca, and received his share of the Atahualpa ransom.

selves closely pressed. After having taken the advice of the senior persons there he appointed Juan Pérez de Guevara, the same who had gone to settle Moyobamba, to command the ships. He promised that he would do what he was ordered, in all loyalty. When Vaca de Castro had put things in order at Lima, he set out on his journey, and travelled until he arrived in the valley of Jauja, where he was welcomed by the captains. Diego de Rojas had marched as far as Guamanga, and ascertained from the Indians that Don Diego was still at Cuzco, where all the inhabitants were favouring the King's service.

Vaca de Castro now thought it well to set out from Jauja, and they made preparations, when a thing happened which presently bid fair to cause much harm. It arose about certain Indians who were wanted to carry loads for the company of Alonso de Alvarado, but whom Pero Alvarez, in his capacity as Camp-master, would not supply. Alvarado was so angry that he sent Pero Alvarez a challenge. When Pero Alvarez received it he became exceedingly enraged, and was about to meet his adversary when Vaca de Castro heard of it. In a great hurry, before the friends of either could take sides, he sent for Alonso de Alvarado, and ordering him not to go from where he was, the Governor began to expostulate with him. He appealed to him as the oldest captain, and one who had always served the king, not to show enmity for so slight a cause and in such difficult times towards Pero Alvarez, nor any other captain. Having said these things, Vaca de Castro then ordered his secretary Pero López to go to Pero Alvarez and ask him for the letter containing the challenge. Pero Alvarez answered that he did not treat such things seriously, and that he had already torn up the letter. The Governor then directed Pero López, Lorenzo de Aldana, and Francisco de Godoy to go and get the letter; and Pero Alvarez sent the torn pieces to Vaca de Castro.

Francisco de Godoy, Lorenzo de Aldana, Garcilaso de la Vega and other gentlemen then intervening, Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez were induced to make friends, and they remained on good terms as before. Vaca de Castro recompensed the native dwellers in Jauja for the supplies they had given, and distributed the new pikes among the soldiers; and they prepared to leave Jauja at once.

CHAPTER LXX

How Don Diego de Almagro, after the death of García de Alvarado, determined to prepare for departure from Cuzco; how he sent one Juan de Aguirre with ten other mounted men to reconnoitre, and how they were taken and killed.

AFTER the captain García de Alvarado had been killed in Cuzco, as we have written in earlier chapters, some who had been his friends expressed discontent on account of his death; and it pleased God that there should be so much disagreement amongst them that the civil war they were engaged in should come to an end; and that the youth Don Diego, constrained by necessity, would either put himself separately into the hands of Vaca de Castro, or retire, with the few who would follow him, into the regions lying beyond [the] Maule. Pondering over the discontent which was showing itself among some of his party, Don Diego secretly called for Martín Carrillo and Baltasar de Castilla, and the other leaders, and said to them that inasmuch as he, and not García de Alvarado, was the person who must provide rewards and distribute the various tracts of the Realm amongst them, he asked them all to be faithful friends and such loyal companions, that they would all count on his constancy. They well knew, he said, the important reason there was for killing García de Alvarado, and the little cause that captain had, after Sotelo's death, to mix in conspiracies against himself and his friends. These and

other things said Don Diego to those who came, and they were content to follow him, and all of one mind to pursue the course they had entered on. Though the Indians reported that Vaca de Castro had arrived at Lima, there was no certainty of his actual position, so it was agreed to send a Biscayan named Aguirre, with ten other mounted scouts, in the direction of Guamanga, to see if he could capture anyone from whom to gain information of what was afoot thereabouts, as it was very important for them to be posted in what was happening in the lower provinces.

Presently Aguirre and his ten followers started to carry out the order of Don Diego. By this time all the provinces had information that Vaca de Castro was at Jauja with a force larger than that of Don Diego. It therefore seemed to the inhabitants wholesome advice to be on the winning side, and not to help Don Diego. The party who left Cuzco with the object I have stated proceeded on their way. In a valley called *Uripa* the Indians killed Aguirre, who had gone on ahead from another village where his companions had tarried. The Indians then attacked the others and so harassed them that they could not get back to Cuzco. They withdrew towards Guamanga, where Diego de Rojas was, but the Indians warned him and they were all captured and judicially executed. Don Diego heard of this disaster through the Indians, and grieved at the fate of his scouts, though without letting others know it. He reflected very seriously and felt that his followers must hasten their preparations, and look well to their lances, for the whole power of Peru was uniting against him. He had suspicions of Martín Carrillo and of a citizen of Cuzco, so he had them arrested, and wrote letters to Arequipa, to one Idiáquez, in whom he trusted as a friend, asking for his advice as to what he had better do with these prisoners, whether to leave them at Cuzco or take them with him. Idiáquez answered that his advice was neither

to take them nor to leave them. Although Don Diego understood the letter perfectly, he did not care to resort to such cruelty, and, after a short detention, he released them. He left Juan Rodriguez Barragán as his lieutenant at Cuzco. The artillery was in good order, the cannons clean, with the necessary powder. Carts were brought up for its transport, and Pedro de Candía was the captain in charge of it.

As it seemed to them now that it was time to leave Cuzco, Don Diego ordered the captains to lead out their companies, the General in command being Juan Balsa, a man of little resource. Having quitted the city they proceeded to pitch their camp in the valley of Xaquixaguana. Don Diego followed shortly; but Juan Balsa remained in the city to see that any soldiers loitering there were hustled away. After he was outside Cuzco, Don Diego was apprised that there were some in the camp who wanted to make off and go over to the enemy. These were Pedro Picón, Alonso Díaz, and Juan Montañés, all brave and capable soldiers.¹ For it seemed to them a bad business that they were engaged in; they wanted to desert their captain and pass over to him who came in the name of the king and with power, forsooth, to pardon them. But although they intended to leave the camp very secretly, Don Diego got wind of it, and they were promptly arrested, sentenced to death, and executed by strangulation with a cord, as a warning to others.

The Inca Manco, hating the Pizarros as he did, on hearing what was afoot, and that Vaca de Castro was in Jauja, with some of his men at Guamanga, and that Don Diego had quitted Cuzco, sent his messengers to Don Diego to tell him that he had retired to *Viticos*, owing to his evil

¹ None of them were actual murderers of the Marquis, though Picón was an accomplice who waited outside. They saw reason to expect pardon from Vaca de Castro.

treatment by Pizarro and the quantity of gold he demanded of him. For these reasons he made war on the Christians until Don Diego's father returned from Chile. Owing to the friendship he felt for his father, if Don Diego would go to Guamanga he would there meet him in peace. He further informed Don Diego that Vaca de Castro was in Jauja with a powerful army, and that he had some men at Guamanga. When Don Diego heard this, he gave orders for Juan Balsa to come away from Cuzco with the remnant of the soldiers who were there, with all possible speed; and at the same time he sent word to his lieutenant, Juan Rodríguez Barragán to hold the city with every precaution and care. Juan Balsa came accordingly with the rear-guard and such portion of the baggage as had been left there. In Xaquixaguana the order of the march was given out, which was that all were to travel on horseback, none on foot. No soldiers were to leave the camp to forage for provisions, for they travelled with an ample number of menials specially provided for that duty. A captain was to accompany the baggage day by day in turns. The people who were thus gathered together, if they had not lost Herrada or Sotelo, might certainly have accomplished some great deed, though it would have been very difficult.

CHAPTER LXXI

How Don Diego de Almagro and his followers quitted the valley of Xaquixaguana and set out for the Apurimac bridge, and how they thought of withdrawing to the Collao.

AFTER the execution of the three Spaniards, it was thought that all was secure, and that no more of those who followed the banners of Chile would desert or forsake them. Don Diego ordered that all should saddle

up and be ready to start. The tents were struck, the soldiers and commissariat men were collected, and everything was done with such regularity that no camp that had ever been pitched in that Realm was better managed. The daily stages were not very long. The various troops were halted in their order, and when the camp was formed it looked like a town, but an open space for fighting was always left, where the soldiers could form up in case of a sudden attack by the enemy. No one had meals in his tent. The tables spread around bore rations common to all, and terms of brotherhood and close companionship prevailed throughout. But the course and frailty of events soon overwhelmed them all with a calamity so great that the hills of Chupas will give testimony of it for all time. Wherever they halted there were no idlers. The men-at-arms exercised their bodies, or engaged in trials of skill with their pikes, while the mounted troopers did the same, and the arquebusiers practised their skirmishing. They made reconnaissances, and counter reconnaissances, and posted look-outs and sentries, all with such marvellous order and care that it was something to see. The Indians, who followed them constantly, set up their markets, or *tiangués*, where necessities could be bought. Nevertheless, and although order was kept such as I have said, and there were few common people among them, but particularly spirited captains, knights of great bravery, most gallant soldiers, excellent artillery—yet, it would seem that they were too few to resist such numerous enemies as had assembled against them. And therefore, seeing plainly that they held no more land in their possession than that on which they stood, Don Diego and the captains in whom he placed most trust consulted together over what would be the wisest course for them to adopt.

They knew from the Indians and from the Inca himself that Vaca de Castro was in the province of Jauja, and had

augmented the force which had been collected by the captains who were at Guaraz. And further, that the whole Realm was turning against them and was paying no heed to anything but their destruction. They felt, too, that it would be a great piece of temerity if they presumed to tempt God, or trust to their luck, so far as to believe that they could overcome the forces marshalled against them, who were all Spaniards, when they themselves were so few. Considering what were best to be done in this business to prevent their enemies, Pero Alvarez Holguin and Gómez de Tordoya, from triumphing over them, it was concluded that it would be a profitable thing to advance as far as the Apurimac bridge, so that information of their going should reach the enemy who, thinking that of a surety they had gone in search of him, would stay where he was: whilst they, after crossing the bridge, could make good their retreat by a track that winds away towards the right into the country of the Quichuas and thence past the Charcas by a devious route, and thus evade their many enemies until time should make clear to them how they must act. But, though these were the plans discussed at this council, and though they intended to put them into practice, yet it did not please God that they should carry them through. For there were persons among them who had committed many murders, and had been the authors of numerous evil deeds, and they could not be allowed to escape punishment. So they marched by stages until they arrived at the bridge over the Apurimac, where they spent some days in repairing it, as it had been much knocked about and was in a ruinous state. When the captains and soldiers had passed over to the other side of the river, with the intention already explained, there put up at the rest-house of Curahuasi, where Almagro and his captains were already installed, a priest named Márquez, who, coming from Lima over the uninhabited wilds, chanced to reach this spot and

was freely welcomed by Don Diego and his people. He told Almagro and his captains privately that they need not be afraid of giving battle to Vaca de Castro, because the men who had joined him were not so numerous as had been stated, nor were they so well provided with arms and other things needful in war. They took heart from the conversations and remarks of this priest, and Martín de Bilbao and other captains said that they should march against Vaca de Castro and give him battle, because he had joined their enemies and adopted them as his defenders. Don Diego, too, agreed with him.

Some captains held to the earlier decision, and gave sound reasons for not pushing forward; but, after discussion, it was finally decided to go and take up a position at Guamanga and thence search for Vaca de Castro. They called upon Father Márquez to declare to all the soldiers the smallness of the force that Vaca de Castro was bringing, and that it was not fit to oppose the strength and efficiency they themselves possessed. The priest did this. Afterwards he said mass before all the Spaniards, and when it was over he affirmed, by that true body of God which had been in the chalice, that what he had told the captains and soldiers was fact. On hearing this oath they all rejoiced. They quitted that place the next day and, keeping the same order, marched towards Andahuaylas, where the Chief, named Guasco, had carried off all the provisions to a place of hiding. For being in the *encomienda* of the wealthy Diego Maldonado who, he knew, was with Vaca de Castro, this Chief was unwilling to befriend the opposite party. Moreover he had a writ from Vaca de Castro empowering him to kill any Spaniard of the men of Chile's party who should countermand the Governor's requisitions. When the Spaniards saw that the Indians were not peaceably disposed, they were enraged with them; but this was no time to busy themselves with punishing

Indians, so they made their own preparations for getting onward as best they could, having first despatched the licentiate de La Gama with an embassy to the camp of Vaca de Castro to discuss peace. Vaca de Castro ordered him and those who came with him to lodge at Guaylas, which is on the other side of the river. He listened to the message of the embassy, and remarked that there were many in the camp of Don Diego who desired to quit the error of their ways, but had not been able to contrive to do so. The upshot of this embassy was, that Vaca de Castro directed that Juan Balsa and another leader from among the principal men should come, and he would discuss terms of peace with them.

At this time, Don Diego had arrived at the royal residence of Vilcas, where he made himself secure, and pitched his camp among those ruined [Inca] edifices, under the superintendence of his Sergeant-major Suárez, a trusty fellow well versed in affairs of war. Here Don Diego and his captains determined to send messengers afresh to Vaca de Castro, in order to treat for peace; and they deemed that it would be of great help in justifying their claims if two letters were written, one by Don Diego and the other by his captains. I possess the originals of those letters, which I here set down word for word, as it is my habit to do with many others that I put in and will put in. The messenger who carried them was Lope de Idiáquez. The letter from Don Diego ran thus :

LETTER FROM DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO TO THE
GOVERNOR VACA DE CASTRO

“VERY MAGNIFICENT SIR,

News that I have heard has disquieted me to such an extent that, were it not affirmed by eye-witnesses,

I could not have imagined that your Worship, coming as his Majesty's minister to establish peace and justice in this his land, is favouring the very people who have disturbed it: a thing unheard of and truly unworthy to be believed of such a person, and one so qualified, who, combining great tact with abilities that many others have lacked—according to what has been publicly stated hereabouts—was selected for the Presidency of [the Audience of] Panamá and for the redress of grievances.

It seems to me that your Worship is adding point to the injuries done to my father by the Pizarros; for, whilst their followers are the men who sowed the trouble in these parts, your Worship comes not to root them out, that the evil seed may be lost, but conspires with those who have hitherto helped to maintain it against me and against those who are striving with me to defend so just a cause, together with the well-merited favour of the territory and government of New Toledo, which his Majesty granted to my father for his very signal services.

On account of those services it was his pleasure that I, as a grateful and dutiful Prince, should enjoy the position after his day, as your Worship will have learnt from the licentiate Antonio de La Gama and the assessor Gonzalo Hernández who, I make no doubt, have been with you now some days. Besides the credentials I gave them, they carried certain instructions and drafts to discuss with your Worship; but as I am not certain whether those about your Worship's person will have taken steps to prevent my pleas from being heard, or my messengers from stating them to your Worship on my behalf, I am now sending, charged with the same, Lope de Idiáquez who, actuated solely by zeal for his Majesty's service, and free from all bias, as those who know him are aware, has resolved to undertake this mission, without my being

able to deter him from it, in spite of its dangerous nature at the present time, owing to the native Indians waging war and not sparing the life of any Christian; which natives say and declare that what they do is by your order, communicated to them by Maldonado, on the part of your Worship, through his servant named Juan de Pinos, who is now in their villages, and that Palomino and other dwellers in Guamanga are spurring them on to act up to it. This has been the cause of ten Christians being killed, some of whom were on their way home to Spain with what they possessed; and, in addition to that, the Indians have seized their holdings. Notwithstanding all these alarms he [Idiáquez] has been ready to risk his safety in this praiseworthy effort. He sympathizes with the Indians for the vast toil and loss of life suffered by them, and recognizes the great evils that would fall upon this country if your Worship persist in the aims which I am assured you have in view. He knows well what has happened in these parts since they were discovered, what faults the Pizarros have committed, and what was done against my father and those who followed him. He knows my intention, for I have declared it; he knows my right [of possession], and will state my justifications for me as one who understands how proper and equitable I hold them to be, that that right may be preserved to me.

And having sent those whom I did send with what I have to say, but having as yet received no reply from your Worship nor from them, I am earnestly hoping to learn what moves your Worship to side with my enemies in this regard. Since therefore, the bearer will fully and always truthfully explain matters, I will not dally with the subject, but commit myself entirely to his statement, which is, that—being aware that your Worship comes against me with an armed force for my detriment, in

association with my enemies, or it were better to say his Majesty's enemies—being myself likewise in arms, not against your Worship but to support you against any who will not obey your Presidential decrees, as I will do if it should be necessary—and fearing that your Worship is deceived by those who appear to me so bent, I quitted Cuzco to go and seek for you; and on my arrival here I learnt what I have stated, which scandalized me not a little. So, however, let your Worship understand that I possess letters patent from his Majesty in which he constituted this Government in favour of my father, with a provision that it should devolve upon whomsoever he should leave it to; and he left it to me, his son, as set forth in the clause of his will, which, if you have thought proper, you will by now have seen, for the Licentiate and the Assessor conveyed it to you with every precaution.

I say that my followers and myself are servants and subjects of His Majesty, and, as such, we carry the imperial standard and fight under it in defence of this constitution, until His Majesty—being informed of the shameful death inflicted on my father and many of his followers, of the great wrongs done him and them, and of how the Pizarros killed him to rob him of what was his, that they might bribe whom they thought fit and become sharers of his property in despite of his heir [and such abominable outrages should never reach his Majesty's ears]—shall send to order whatever action will best conduce to his service. And if I should learn that the issue of his pleasure is that I am not to hold this Government in his name, I will resign it, together with the arms; and I and those about me will go, without any delay, to justify ourselves on bended knee before his imperial presence.

In case your Worship should not have joined with, or should sever yourself from, my enemies, you will receive my obedience accordingly; but I declare to your Worship

that, in the contrary event, my followers and myself will defend the boundaries of this Government, and oppose ourselves against all who would usurp them. Frankly, therefore, see the evils that may arise, and weigh well the situation, and the great disservice to God and to his Majesty. Consent not that the clouds which have gathered shall pour forth, and plunge the subjects of his Majesty, and the natives of this hapless land, in wretchedness yet greater than they have suffered in the past, which is not a little. Do not bring upon them the miseries of war; but, laying arms aside, let your Worship rest with the government of New Castille, and leave me with this which his Majesty has conferred upon me, where I shall see that the roads are opened up, and the Indians live in peace, and his Majesty's good pleasure is known, for that will I obey. And this I commend to your Worship not once, but twice, and thrice over, and as many times as of right I may and ought, in God's behalf and that of his Majesty; and as to the injuries and loss of life that must result in the land and among the natives of the soil, which are very pitiful to behold, and also the losses of royal fifths, so long as your Worship and those of your party remain obdurate, be they upon your Worship's head and upon the heads of your followers, and not upon mine and my companions'! For your Worship comes not wanting peace—though you were sent to promote that, and not to foment war—but with sword in hand and the favour of my enemies, to slay me and mine for defending his Majesty's territory, which he has conferred upon me by commission. And therefore, being unwilling to gloss over these scandals, I say that the cause of them will be laid to your Worship's account. If you do not seek me out I will endeavour to delay this affair for so long a time as I may be able to, and while not constrained to strike

in my own defence; pending a knowledge of what course his Majesty may be pleased to direct to be taken in reference to the despatch which Jerónimo de Surbano carries from me, and who is by now surely in yonder country [Spain] with it. But if your Worship acts to the contrary I shall not quit the field until one or the other side lies vanquished.

And I pray to God to hear me, now as in the past, that I may inspire the whole country with devotion to his Majesty, and restore his royal fifths and estates which have been so plundered in the past, and daily look to be yet more so, by the disturbers of the peace who have come from Cuzco. Furthermore, I would bring the Inca, the natural lord of these parts, to his allegiance, for it is my enemies who have been the cause of his not submitting through my intervention before; and I hope to see this very soon, for though he is an Indian he recognizes the treasons and misdeeds of the Pizarros and their adherents, as such, and the justice and right that are on my side, and upholds me. Thus the Inca leads the way for me in making war upon those false servants of his Majesty; and against your Worship likewise (unless you change your front) for having linked yourself with them. Yet I hold it for sure that your Worship can have no desire to injure me, if it be, or has been, in your power to do so. Farewell.

Vilcas, the fourth of September of [the year] one thousand five hundred and forty-two."

DIEGO DE ALMAGRO.

The foregoing letter was given by Don Diego de Almagro out of his own hand to Lope de Idiáquez; and also this other, from the Captains, which, taken from the original without altering a sentence or anything else, ran word for word thus:—

LETTER FROM THE CAPTAINS OF DON DIEGO TO THE
GOVERNOR VACA DE CASTRO

"ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

We have not yet heard the thunder of justice which your Lordship comes to establish in these parts, nor seen the flash of the justice you wish to afford us, for we have been blind these many days. Your Lordship was right in holding us to be servants and vassals of his Majesty; but we could not persuade ourselves that we are so if we let pass in silence what we hear, and did not announce to your Lordship what the service of God and of his Majesty appears to us to be. Of this we are confident, that, if your Lordship takes the opinion of our enemies, in nothing will you advance the cause of peace in preference to war. God loves peace, and in his name Don Diego de Almagro loves it out of respect for God and his Majesty's interests. We also desire it as being his right, and because we see him inclined towards every good purpose. And as a messenger offers who will give your Lordship a full account of our wishes, we refer you to him. Further we say, that his Majesty's interests cannot be served by a war and the deaths of so many people; and since, coming as your Lordship does in company with our enemies, this cannot be avoided, we beseech your Lordship to part from them, and, placing yourself between us as mediator, strive to bring about some sort of agreement until his Majesty, on being made aware of what has occurred, and of the justice of Don Diego's cause, shall decide according to his royal will. For we, who have hitherto helped, and will continue to help until death, to maintain the privilege which his Majesty granted to Don Diego's father, and to Don Diego himself in his name, of this government of New Toledo, do declare to your Lordship that, if you persist

in opposing it by force of arms, you will find us on its frontier defending it against all the world until his Majesty may otherwise command: and unless we know that, of his imperial pleasure, he has issued a command to us to the contrary, we fight until those of one party are vanquished.

Now that our rights and our minds are known to your Lordship, also our equipment of artillery, munitions, friends, and arms and the rest, as well as very stout wills to attack against odds, we supplicate you, again and again, for some fair arrangement for peace. Being all in agreement, we unanimously ask this from your Lordship in the name of God and his Majesty, with all the respect we owe and are under obligation to observe. If it be refused, we protest that all the harm, shortages, deaths of men, losses of land and of its natives, deterioration of royal fifths and estates, will lie at the doors of your Lordship and of those who are banded with you, as persons who on account of their private interests do not desire peace, but neglect the service of our King for the sake of profit, and do not support the Governor and Ministers. So then we approach you betimes and peacefully, and, finding your Lordship, as we are informed, thus committed to war against subjects of his Majesty among whom you were sent here to preserve harmony, we ask for that which it is your bounden duty to promote.

And why is it that Pero Alvarez and Tordoya, and the passionate men who went from here in their company, and have now been received into yours, are now urging you to come against Don Diego and us who follow him, giving you to understand that of the people who favour him, some, on hearing the King's name, will go over to your Lordship, and others will make off to Chile, so that you would be able to become a great lord and acquire land without risking anything? To this we

reply that Don Diego, and we who are with him, have the will of his Majesty, and the good of his service more at heart than our own lives and properties. We, therefore, support his royal decrees; and since you have sheltered yourself under the protection of our enemies and come against us in such ruthless fashion, seeking to destroy us and put to death those of us whom they list, we now assure your Lordship that, in the hour when we hear that your Lordship is moving against Don Diego, we shall march to do battle with minds galled by the ill treatment we have received and expect to receive, from your Lordship, if we do not defend ourselves. It seems to us that in this course we fulfil a duty we owe to God and to our King, so that we at no time fail to be deemed his true subjects and vassals, and jealous guardians of his honour like faithful servants. And wishing to be the same towards your Lordship we cannot exaggerate the boon we should feel it if your Lordship would ponder this deeply and become a mediator, and not remain partial on the side of the most unjust cause in the world. But if peradventure you will not reconsider it, we trust that God will make his justice manifest, as in the past. Feeling sure that your Lordship will see that what we ask is the best, we will not prolong our argument any further. From Vilcas, September fourth one thousand five hundred and forty-two.

Juan Balsa (<i>killed in flight</i>) ²	Cardenas (<i>hanged</i>) ²
Diego de Hocés (<i>hanged</i>) ¹	Pedro de Candia (<i>killed by</i>
Diego Mendez (<i>killed for</i>	<i>Don Diego at Chupas</i>)
<i>the murder of the Inca</i>	Martin Cote (<i>hanged</i>) ¹
<i>Manco</i>) ¹	Juan Gutierrez Malaver ³
Martin de Bilbao (<i>killed in</i>	Pedro de Oñate (<i>hanged</i>) ²
<i>battle at Chupas</i>) ¹	Juan Perez (<i>hanged</i>)." ²

When this letter had been written it was entrusted to Lope de Idiáquez for him to deliver to Vaca de Castro, and he was to do his best to avoid any breach, adhering to the saying of Cicero that he had "never known a peace so bad but it was not better than a good war." Although Don Diego and his captains could easily have enjoyed peace if they had been so minded, yet people desirous of laying violent hands on what does not belong to them are not wont to keep or appreciate that blessing. Idiáquez intended to conduct the negociations in such a way that they should have a good ending.

CHAPTER LXXII

How the Governor Vaca de Castro quitted the province of Junja for the city of Guamanga, where the captain Diego de Rojas then was.

AFTER the Governor, Vaca de Castro, had adroitly restored friendship between the captains Alonso de Alvarado and Pero Alvarez Holguin, and had distributed among the soldiers all the arms that were there, he addressed them, urging them to prove themselves strong men, and so firm that, by chastising the insurgents, the country might be free from oppression and his Majesty absolute lord of the land. For the despatch of business he brought with him as his secretary Pero López, a native of Llerena, as we have already said, and he ordered him to keep the letters which the licentiate de La Gama and the assessor Gonzalo Hernández had brought. And as the infantry had already begun to march out, an order was given to the cavalry to do the same, and the Guancas were requested, in friendly words, to provide Indians for carrying the munitions and camp baggage, which they did. When all was in order, the

Governor set out, with the royal standard of the eagle carried by Rodrigo de Campo. They marched in good order until they reached the village of *Picay*, where they had a short rest, being anxious to get on to Guamanga, where Diego de Rojas had taken up a position and prudently built a fortress for his garrison to remain entrenched in if he should be attacked by the enemy. As it was thought certain throughout the Realm that there would be a battle between the factions of Pachacama and Chile,¹ public prayers were offered up, especially in the city of Lima, where they made great sacrifices to our God, the monks of all the orders going forth in processions, and praying for Divine aid, and that the victory might be given to Vaca de Castro, because he was waging war in the name of the king. The Spanish women, on their part, did the same, and fearing lest victory might fall to the Chile party, they put their goods and chattels on board the ships, intending, if the news should prove bad, to embark also themselves.

Diego de Rojas received word that Don Diego was at Vilcas, and sent messengers to Vaca de Castro, urging him to come to Guamanga with all possible speed, to forestall the enemy's approach. When this news reached the Governor at Parcos it caused great excitement, as if the enemy were already charging lance in hand, and the alarm was given at once. The Governor, in a state of perturbation, went from place to place, ordering his troops to march off in haste and occupy Guamanga. He ordered Captain Pedro Anzures to rush back and call up Alonso de Alvarado, who had dropped behind with his company of lancers, as well as the rest of the people who were still on the road. Pedro Anzures went back and gave the news to Alonso de Alvarado, who presently arrived at Parcos. The Governor then advanced, going down by

¹ *I.e.* of Vaca de Castro and Diego de Almagro.

the way where Juan Chicó was killed, when the ill-fated de Morgobejo retired to die on the heights of *Lunahuana*. From there Vaca de Castro ordered Lope Martín to push forward on horseback to Guamanga and find out whether Diego de Rojas had any further news. He came back with the same news they had before. As some of the companies of foot had gone far ahead, the Governor gave orders for them to be halted until the whole force was together. At *Vinaque* he pitched the camp with them all united. From the scouts sent out by Diego de Rojas, the news came that Don Diego was marching down from Vilcas to occupy Guamanga. This report caused more excitement than the former one, and Vaca de Castro held a consultation with his captains, whereat it was decided to push briskly forwards so as to reach Guamanga before Don Diego could enter it. They began their march in great disorder, so that, if the enemy had been near, they would easily have been routed. On arriving at Guamanga, the various sections entered the *plaza*, and mounted the culverins they had brought with them, at the ingress to the streets. They remained there that night, and next day the truth was learned, which was that Don Diego was still at Vilcas, and had not started nor moved his men the distance of an arquebus shot. The Governor passed out from the city on the side towards Vilcas, the tents were pitched, and the captain Pedro Anzures arrived with the laggards behind and the baggage train, so that all were united.

CHAPTER LXXIII

How Idiáquez arrived at the camp of Vaca de Castro to treat for peace just when the Governor wanted to send messengers to Vilcas.

VACA DE CASTRO and his captains consulted together, after the camp had been pitched in the manner related, as to what should be their next step, being now so near the enemy. All agreed that messengers should be sent to Don Diego, demanding that he should withdraw his unjust pretensions, enter his Majesty's service, and deliver up his banners and troops. The messenger was also to take letters and despatches to some of his principal adherents. The Governor had just ordered his secretary to get the letters written when Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado arrived and went in to see Vaca de Castro. The letters of Almagro and his captains were presented together with the protocol of terms proposed, which were that Vaca de Castro should disband the force he had collected, that Don Diego would do likewise with his, that Vaca de Castro would withdraw to Lima and remain there as Chief of New Castillo, and that Don Diego would return to Cuzco and the province of New Toledo until the king should make his pleasure known; and other things not needful to quote. The Governor Vaca de Castro displayed some anger and vexation at the letters they had written to him. But he had doubts whether to pursue the war, and privately desired peace, knowing that there would be a great slaughter, since there were men of such fortitude and undaunted spirit on both sides, and that it would lie in his hands to give battle, but in God our Lord's to award the victory to whom He pleased. So, wishing in his own mind to avoid a day so critical as must be that on which the

battle would take place, he had his most influential supporters summoned to a consultation, together with his captains, and they discussed the question of what they ought to do, somewhat hotly. They decided that Vaca de Castro should write to Don Diego and to all his captains, in a kindly and mild tone, to attach them to the service of his Majesty and to propose that Juan Balsa should come to the royal camp to ratify peace, while, to fully assure him of safety and that he need not be in any fear of treachery, Alonso de Alvarado would go to Don Diego's camp.

So the Governor ordered his secretary, Pero López, to write the letters forthwith, urging Don Diego to yield to the call of his Majesty's service, and reminding him of the labours undergone by his father to acquire honour and fame; so that he should not lose, by his conduct, all that the old Adelantado had gained. The letter to Don Diego pointed out too that nothing had been altered by his father's death, as it was understood that he [the son] lacked level-headed and prudent men to give him temperate advice but that, nevertheless, he ought not to pin his faith on arms and artillery alone, for if the conscience be not clear, force avails but little, seeing that it is ordained from above by command of the Most High God that justice must prevail. Besides this, he wrote other things counselling him what was proper, and bidding him give ear to what Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado would say, from him, when they should get back. Letters were also written to the captains, urging them to join the service of the king, and they gave private letters to the messengers for many other persons in the camp.

CHAPTER LXXIV

How Vaca de Castro, notwithstanding that he had entered into these negotiations, sent Alonso Camarilla as a spy to the camp of Don Diego, with letters to many who were there, and how he was captured by Juan Diente when scouts were sent out from Vilcas, and on confessing what he went for, was put to death.

HAVING issued the despatches to the messengers who were to carry them, the Governor Vaca de Castro resorted to a precaution, by which he sought, privily and without the messengers who were engaged in the negotiations knowing it, to send a spy. This spy was a certain Alonso García Camarilla, a great walker whom we mentioned in an earlier book, when he was sent by Hernando Pizarro, during the siege of Cuzco, to Yucay with Manco Inca. They then wanted to kill him, but he escaped from thence by his swiftness of foot, because his place of sepulture was destined to be at Vilcas. In all the land there was not a man ready and fitted to act the spy, unless it were this one, and Juan Diente who captured him, as we shall relate. Having removed his beard and casting off his Spanish clothes, he put on the garb of an Indian, rubbed his lips and back teeth with that precious herb which grows on the skirts of the Andes, and leaving the sword of which he was unworthy, he took a staff in his hand, and in a pouch or small wallet he put the letters which Vaca de Castro gave him for the camp of Don Diego. Having acquainted himself with the features of that camp and the method that was observed in it he was to return with all diligence and make his report. In such wise was Alonso García despatched, that anyone who saw him set forth from the camp would, of a certainty, have believed he was some Indian. Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado also took their leave of the Governor.

At this time the Chile faction, after they had despatched those who were to treat for peace, were very watchful in their camp. They sent scouts out in all directions, that their enemies might not take them unprepared; and one day it fell to the lot of Juan Diente, an excellent soldier and great walker, to go out scouting. He struck away to the right of the position of Vilcas, near some snowy mountains, and went up to the crest of a ridge to see if by chance any Spaniard might be coming in the direction of Guamanga. Alonso García was then coming along, and had a mind to pass that way; he was seen, however, by Juan Diente who thought he was an Indian, as the man's dress led him to assume. Nevertheless Diente went briskly down towards the place where he had seen him. Alonso García, who travelled by no means unwarily, raised his eyes to the high crests and snowy tracts above and noticed the Spaniard coming down. Seeing that he was one of the enemy he turned back into another path which led to some great rocks and deep caves. Diente, who excelled him in agility, got down with no little difficulty; and following the other's trail, his great experience told him that the man in front was not an Indian. He went forward and presently he overtook him already hiding in one of the caves. Though Alonso García was a tremendous walker and a unique spy, he came at last to be captured by Juan Diente, who was a better, though no other man in the country was his equal. Having secured him, Diente took him, as a prisoner, to the camp at Vilcas; where, in obedience to military emergency, and notwithstanding that he had been a soldier of the old Adelantado's, they tortured him until he confessed that he came as a spy, and with letters from Vaca de Castro, and other things. In payment for his activities, and the mischief those activities would have brought upon the men of Chile if Juan Diente had not outwitted and captured him, Don Diego

ordered that Çamarilla should be hanged. When they were about to fix the rope round his neck he said these words: "By the pass in which I am, I tell you that there are a thousand and one hundred fighting men against you, very well equipped, and thoroughly bent on your destruction. This I say because, although you are taking my life, it irks me that you should be undone." Then the rope was tightened, and he yielded up his soul.

The words that Juan Diente¹ spoke to those indomitable captains and soldiers with such earnestness caused no fear in the minds of those who were no more than five hundred and fifty, while their enemies numbered one thousand one hundred. With great uproar, grasping their beards in their hands, they declared that they would not be a party to any terms for peace, but rather would they give battle undaunted by any power that might come against them. I know not what cause may have inspired the few to feel so little fear against the many, for they had all been born in that country which is comparable to a bullock's hide.² And in truth, it was ordained that many or all of them for their sins were never again to see the land of their birth. Cruel fortune was about to make an end of the warriors from Maule, and overthrow the Chilean faction at a single blow. Fired with enthusiasm they one and all vehemently sought for battle, though I cannot tell whether they sought it through the stimulus of valour or overmastering anger. Some there are whom fear of expected disaster drives to risk every danger; and these waited very anxiously to see what result the negotiation, that Lope de Idiáquez had gone to conduct, might have. One Francisco Gallego went over to the enemy whilst out scouting, and before that, Juan García, Pero López de Ayala, Diego López Becerra, and others who had been friends of García de

Should be Çamarilla.

¹ Spain in geographical outline.

Alvarado had done the same. But although these had escaped, and it was clearly known that some others had the same desire, this was not enough to daunt the Almagrists, or put fear into their adamantine hearts, for they already held the latter cause fixed in their breasts.

CHAPTER LXXV

How the messengers returned to the camp at Vilcas, no way being found that could lead to peace, so that they had to trust to arms for the defence of their cause.

WHEN the letters were given to Alonso García, neither Lope de Idiáquez nor the factor Mercado observed it, because the others took care that they should not know or understand. They left Guamanga with the letters and despatches they were given, and travelled until they reached Vilcas. The terms demanded by Vaca de Castro were then made known. He required the Almagro camp to be broken up, and that Martín de Bilbao, San Millán, Diego de Hoces, Juan Rodríguez Barragán, Martín Cote and the others who had been concerned in the death of the Marquis, should be given up to him; and promised that the fullest mercy would be shown to Don Diego in the name of his Majesty. To effect this settlement Juan Balsa was to go to Guamanga, and the captain Alonso de Alvarado was to come to Vilcas, so as to avoid by this plan the vast evils that would result if the war continued.

The captains resolved to meet and consider what should be done, Don Diego and the messengers being also present at the consultation. After some discussion they decided to send Juan Balsa to offer that if Vaca de Castro would pardon the murderers, they would abide by his terms as regards everything else. While affairs were in a fair way to reach this conclusion, a letter came on the scene, which

Agamenon had written to Pedro de Candía, his father-in-law, inciting him to tamper with the artillery, for he saw that he had gone astray and was acting against the service of his royal Majesty, and warning him that, such was the strength of the Governor's forces, the Almagro party could not fail to be conquered, and that then they would be looked upon as traitors: and other things in like strain. This letter was brought from the aforesaid Agamenon by an Indian, and at the time when he delivered it, this Indian was asked whether any other Spaniard had seen the letter: he replied that the messengers had read it. Pedro de Candía, on reflection, then guessed that this was a snare laid to entrap him; so without reading the letter he went straight to the consultation of officers which was just then in progress, where he showed the letter and read it openly. At this, the lives of the messengers came near being forfeited there and then: so monstrously indignant were Don Diego and the others on seeing that while in one hand they brought an appeal for peace, they craftily waged war with the other. In a raging passion all swore that they would conquer or die, ordering the messengers to go back with that for an answer, and tell the enemy to hurry up, and that neither they nor any other messengers were to return again with overtures, if they valued their lives. Thus was every way towards peace closed. The messengers did not dally, but promptly got their horses and were hustled out of the camp. Don Diego de Almagro, mounted on a powerful steed, ordered a general muster of all his men in the *plaza*, which occupied a triangular space between the ruined palaces and the temple of the sun. As they were all so fond of the youth there was little slackness in obeying his command, and stationing himself in the midst of them all, Don Diego thus addressed them:

As his name implies, the wily Pedro was a Cretan.

"Oh my companions and loyal friends!—I well believe that none of you are ignorant of the great merits, valour and liberality of the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro, my father, or unaware that his was the first sword to reclaim from their savagery the multitude of barbarians in this region and in those which extend as far as the river Maule, thus bringing many of them under the Spanish yoke and into the royal service. He was the ladder by which the Pizarros rose, in recompense for which he was most cruelly deprived of his life. Afterwards, through lack of attention in Spain in providing for the administration of justice for which we waited, and finding, as was publicly known, that the Judge who was coming would be disposed only to add to our troubles and forlorn condition, and would not afford us justice (as he had been appointed through the influence of that warm befriender of the Pachacama party, Cardinal Loaysa) and seeing that we were denied on all sides the justice we had so long been expecting, it pleased God to lift the veil from his hidden judgments and, that they might be known now and for ever, to let the Marquis pay with his life for the death which through his cruelty and that of his traitor brother had been inflicted on my father. Well! since our Lord put such fortitude and spirit into your hearts that without difficulty you became indomitable men ready for any deed of strength, willing to suffer great hardships, hunger, cold and heat, I entreat you, in all earnestness, not to fail now, when fortune calls upon us to defend our lives and honour, which are poised but on the points of our lances and in the bullets of our arquebuses. Therefore I bid ye sally forth from this fort with willing heroism to seek out our enemies, and to let them understand the gallantry and courage with which our persons are endowed. And should it not please God to give us the glory of victory, we shall at least sell our lives at such a price that no one else will care to

purchase them, whilst winning perpetual fame by our deeds. Upon that soldier who shall bring me an enemy's head, from that moment I will bestow the lordship of his victim's *repartimiento*, and, if he should have been a married man, the victor shall step into his place in the marriage chamber, and enjoy the society of the widow."

Young Don Diego had scarcely finished his speech when the soldiers, raising their right hands, shouted clamourously to be led to battle. So the camp was at once broken up and next day they marched to *Pomacocha*, a strong position, where they proposed to halt, and even to wait until they could know whether the enemy had quitted Chupas to offer battle at *Sachabamba*, a suitable, open plain where artillery could be effectively used. But as Death was now hovering over their heads, in their eagerness and impetuosity they had the tents struck again, and insisted on moving forward to pass the night at *Sachabamba*, intending next day either to come face to face with the enemy, or march into *Guamanga*.

CHAPTER LXXVI

How the messengers arrived at the camp of Vaca de Castro, how it was learnt that Don Diego had left Vilcas, how Pedro Anzures went to reconnoitre; and how the opposing forces approached to give battle, each leader animating his men and exhorting them to fight.

THE time was now approaching when the hills of Chupas would be sprinkled with the blood of men who were born in Spain, to bear witness in future times that the herbs and stunted bushes growing on them are seedlings sprung from Spanish elements. And you! ghosts of Tabogan captains, if one may call you such, there in the place where your deeds have laid you, gaze upon the

fabric you have woven, and watch how your ever-binding oath is accomplished to the utmost! Ay, remember the famous Incas, with their Huayna Capac, and consider the dire vengeance being exacted for the ruin brought about in the Yupanqui lineage, and whether other weapons were not called for rather than those by whose means rash men brought about and wreaked that havoc. And you Romans! who so exalt the events that occurred in your Rome during the civil wars, see how there arose another mad struggle, near the equator, so long-drawn that eleven years sped by before it ended, wherein there were not wanting its Curios, its Scaevolas, its Centalios, nor its Brutuses! For in this war, while hearts were transfixed by lance, and bullets tore by their impetuosity the entrails and the caul, as if to cast the soul out by the mouth, some gave the battle cry "Almagro!" and others "Pizarro!" but all shouted for "the King!" I know not how I shall set about relating such a horror, nor which side I can look upon as in the right, but, after all, tyranny is a fearsome and hateful thing before the divine throne. And since I must not leave unfinished the task I have begun—though many times I have stayed my hand, and thrust the paper on one side that we might escape the sooner from such pangs—it will be necessary to relate what Lope de Idiáquez and the factor Mercado did when they left the camp which was about to become a sacrifice to its own folly. They were not a little glad to find themselves clear of it, and at once made for Guamanga.

The Governor, Vaca de Castro, having sent the messengers, and with them, as their text, the law of the *Partida*, which, according to the lawyers, declares those who deny obedience to the king to be traitors, he held a consultation with the principal leaders in his camp. Learning from the Indian Chiefs that Don Diego had departed from Vilcas, and suspecting that he might be going by the route of

Guaytara to Lima, where he would do even more harm than when he killed the Marquis, Vaca de Castro moved his forces from where they had halted, and marched that day, which was a Friday, until they took up a position on the level ground of *CHUPAS*. This was done on the advice of them all.

That night there was a storm so violent that nothing short of torrents of water fell from the clouds and thick-ness, accompanied by loud peals of thunder, insomuch that the very elements appeared to be enemies. They passed a very troublous night, for many soldiers had no protection from the rain for the arms they would have to fight with on the following day; and if the armies should meet it seemed likely that the artillery and arquebuses could do little harm. If this battle were being joined in Spain, or if one host encountered another in Italy, there would be no cause for wonder, and nothing need be stated beyond the fact that two thousand men met to kill each other. But it is a striking and remarkable thing that, after making such protracted voyages as those by way of the Southern Ocean, and arriving in dribblets a few at a time, so many of our people should join together, and that, though in the aggregate their numbers are not large, they should cause all the nations and regions from the Strait to the uttermost parts of the land to tremble, without the barbarians daring to oppose them. I know well that two thousand Spaniards outside my country, wherever they may be, are feared, and that they can carry on civil war with terrible savagery, as will presently be shown by the case of a soldier who filled the post of Sergeant-major in the force of Vaca de Castro.¹ Never was a Marius, or Sylla, a Dionisius, or Falaris, his equal in cruelty; for in

¹ Francisco de Carbajal, afterwards the lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro and a ruthless executioner of traitors to his cause.

every phase of cruelty he showed himself a past master of the class I have mentioned and the trees¹ from Quito to the hill-crest of Potosí bear witness to it.

And now when the night was far spent and the falling snow had scattered many of its flakes over the face of the country, and the weather seemed clear enough to go forth, the Governor Vaca de Castro ordered a reconnaissance to be made. Presently a very laughable thing happened, which was that Don Pedro Puertocarrero, and one Juan de Mora, straying apart from the rest of the scouts, came to where there were some crags and great rocks. In the twilight Don Pedro thought they were the enemy's patrols and that he could dash through them to give notice to his captain, so he put his lance to the rest and charged the rocks in such fashion that the lance was shattered to pieces, and his horse and himself nearly broke their necks. Those who went out to reconnoitre that morning did get sight of the enemy scouts, and reported it to Vaca de Castro. Little time elapsed before the factor Mercado and Lope Idiáquez arrived where the Governor was, and reported what had occurred, and how the men of Chile had been minded to kill them; and finally that war was certain, and peace quite out of reach, for the enemy would brook none but what they might win at the point of their lances. They said that there were five hundred Spaniards at Vilcas, well armed and mounted, and some experienced fighting men amongst them, all firmly resolved to conquer or die. On hearing this the Governor ordered his secretary Pero López to enter it in the records together with the letters from Almagro and his captains. He then called a meeting of all his captains and combatant officers, and said to them: "You are aware of the correspondence I have had with Don Diego and his followers who are accomplices

¹ From which he hung his victims.

with him in the tyranny they have set up. To avoid bloodshed and for the service his father rendered to his Majesty I was anxious that this boy should not be lost, but he has refused to repent and enjoy the clemency and the pardon his Majesty would have granted him. On the contrary, he was on the point of murdering the ambassadors, and, not to mention the crafty and insincere letters he has written to me, now comes against us to give us battle with tyrannical fury, and an insatiable greed to usurp and rule over the Realm: a thing to which we cannot consent, nor allow such a great calamity to befall. That our men may take heart, and that punishment proportionate to so great a crime may be dealt, my decision is that he and his defenders are traitors, and that whatever may be found in his camp is lawful plunder."

The captains Alonso de Alvarado, Pero Alvarez Holguin, Garcilaso de la Vega, Diego de Rojas, Pedro de Castro and the Sergeant-major Francisco de Caravajal, and the rest who were present, replied that Vaca de Castro was Governor on behalf of the King, and very learned in letters, and that therefore they, as his executive, would support him in all things he might feel it right to be done. When the meeting broke up, the drums were sounded, the soldiers stood to their arms and, in a loud voice that all might hear, Don Diego and his confederates were proclaimed as traitors, unless they should surrender within six days from the date of summons. The soldiers of the King were given free leave, also, to loot the enemy's camp. Vaca de Castro did not hold a commission to proclaim this on his own authority, nor had his Majesty given him powers to that effect; but in such times war must be conducted in a way to instil fear. Having done this, Vaca de Castro retired into his tent, lifted up his hands before a crucifix, and besought God for aid, for he knew how strong His desire was for peace and how He deprecated war.

At this time the men of Chile were about a league from the Pachacama forces. Don Diego held a consultation with his officers to decide what should be done. There was some difference of opinion. Some thought that they should give battle to their enemies, which could easily be done. Others said that victory would be easier to gain by going out to the spur of Chupas, wheeling to the right, and marching into Guamanga. Having occupied that city the enemy would run short of provisions, and soon be in such straits that he would have to seek for them, whilst themselves, having by then chosen a position and formed a camp, would have the artillery so planted that the enemy would be broken up by it. This seemed a good plan to all present, and they set to work to carry it into effect: it being agreed that if the enemy should come against them on the way they must give them battle without waiting for anything else. Presently they started off accordingly, sending out scouts in all directions.

CHAPTER LXXVII

How the captains Castro and Pedro Anzures went out to reconnoitre, and how the royal army advanced to give battle, each captain encouraging his men and exhorting them to fight.

NOW approached that fateful Saturday¹ on which the battle was fought. All the heights of Chupas, and their steep slopes, were crowded with the natives of those regions, some following the Almagro faction, some the party of Pachacama. In both camps there were many *pallas*,² natives of Cuzco much beloved by the Spaniards, whose feeling they reciprocated, delighting to dwell in the

¹ 16th of September 1542.

² Inca ladies.

service of such doughty men and to act as proxies for their lawful wives in Spain. When they saw the last day of the war at hand they foresaw the death that must befall their lovers and wandered, wailing and dishevelled, according to the custom of the country, from place to place. The Indians made such a clamour that it was heard over the valleys and heights of Chupas and their yells were re-echoed beyond in the gorges of the Andes, so that these same Indians were frightened at the sound of their own voices. But they were delighted at seeing the spectacle of Spaniards fighting against each other without having any reasonable quarrel, and gave thanks to the Sun for the glorious revenge about to be taken for the ills that had been inflicted on their elders.

As the enemies were now drawing near together the men of Chile pitched their camp, with the intention of striking the tents during the second night watch and marching, if possible, into Guamanga, and thence by the Guaytara road on to Lima.

At this juncture the forces of Vaca de Castro were encamped in the valley of Chupas,¹ and to reach the summit of the spur there was more than a league of ascent.² The scouts sent out by Vaca de Castro had got so far as to see the camp of Don Diego, and, after a spirited discussion with other scouts of their party, returned to report that Don Diego was nearing the summit of the hills. When Vaca de Castro heard this, he ordered captain Pedro de Castro, with a hundred Spanish arquebusiers, to set out at once for the summit, and try to get there before the enemy could occupy it. Captain Castro immediately departed on this service, followed by Captain Pedro Anzures with his troop of lancers as a rear-guard.

¹ Ravine of Lambra Luopica, *not* Chupas.

² Only a mile and a quarter.

Using all possible speed, Castro reached the heights where he posted his company, Anzures following him closely. Soon they descried the scouts of Don Diego coming out from the camp to see what was going on and whether the enemy had pitched his camp or was making for the height. Seeing the arquebusiers there, it was clear to them that these were already in possession, and after some words had passed between them, such as are customary under such circumstances, they returned to the camp. Meanwhile, Vaca de Castro and his captains set out, in the best order they could, to join the soldiers who were in his camp and on the height. Moving as rapidly as possible, they arrived a little after the hour of vespers. Here there presently assembled Vaca de Castro and the captains

Pero Alvarez Holguin

Alonso de Alvarado

Garcilaso de la Vega

Pedro Anzures

Diego de Rojas

Francisco de Caravajal

(Sergeant Major)

with other cavaliers and principal persons. They held a consultation to decide on what they should do, and whether it would be more prudent to give battle to the enemy on the following day, or to wait until it was seen what Don Diego de Almagro would do. There were differences of opinion among the gathering. Some, for reasons they gave, said that they ought not to give battle until they understood the enemy's intentions. Others said that they should leave the present position, and occupy one nearer the enemy, and that the choice of it would be in their own hands. Others also advised that the encounter should not be put off until later than the next morning at daybreak ; because, at such times, a lost opportunity is not readily regained, and quickness and suddenness of attack count for much, whilst to delay is to court disaster. Alonso de Alvarado was of this opinion, and told Vaca de Castro

that, without further ado, the battle should be joined on the coming morn, for the soldiers were ready and eager and the first shock of a conflict is steady and forceful, because the heated blood courses through the body and gives strength to the men. If that flush of vigour wavers or cools down, their minds are apt to become more timorous than bold and they lose their steadiness. To this and other things, Vaca de Castro answered: "Is your brain good?"¹ and he proceeded to reply to what had been said. Finally it was resolved by all to give battle, and again they turned to encourage the men, urging that they fought for the honour of the King, and that they must display all the valour that was in them, with other exhortations.

Don Diego and his captains did not sleep during this time; on the contrary, they were thinking over further topics before deciding what they should do. They saw that they could not now, with the enemy so near, get into Guamanga without difficulty, and that it would be better to put that scheme aside and give battle; so, after commending themselves to God, they resolved to fight. Don Diego, seeing that the battle was inevitable, mounted his horse, with his lance in his hand, and, turning to the soldiers, addressed them thus: "Oh captains, to whom I owe so much, and soldiers so valorous! the battle must be fought, for the enemy is at hand. Bear in mind that to-day is the day when fortune promises us the government of the country, with full vengeance on our enemies and the best *repartimientos* for yourselves, so do not fail to smite those who have shown themselves to be our enemies. You know that neither has it been my desire nor yours to do anything contrary to the service of the King, and that in the end it will rest with your arms to condemn the loser

as a tyrant, and the conqueror will be held to be loyal." Saying these words and others, he exhorted his friends to prepare for the battle they had to fight.

[DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AROUND THE BATTLE FIELD
OF CHUPAS.

By C. R. M.

The position of the battle of Chupas is interesting. Prescott and Helps had not a true idea of it. Prescott wrote of "the bloody *plains* of Chupas," and "the neighbouring lowlands known as the *plains* of Chupas"; Helps as "the *valley* of Chupas." These are quite wrong terms for the place. Chupas is neither a plain nor a valley, but a farm on a lofty Andean spur.

The city of Guamanga (now called *Ayacucho*) is in 13° 8' S. Lat., 72° 2' W. Long., and 8660 feet above the sea. There is a small plain outside the town to north-west, called the *Pampa del Arco*, but the battle field was miles away, on the other side.

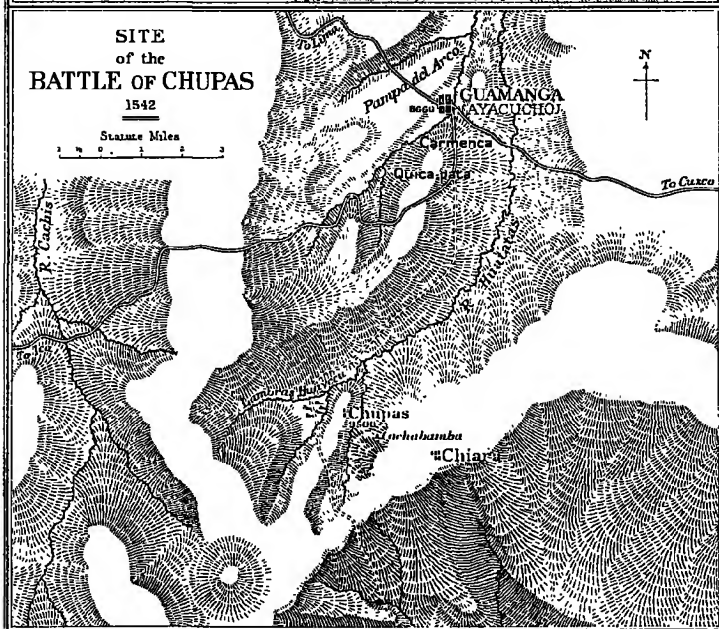
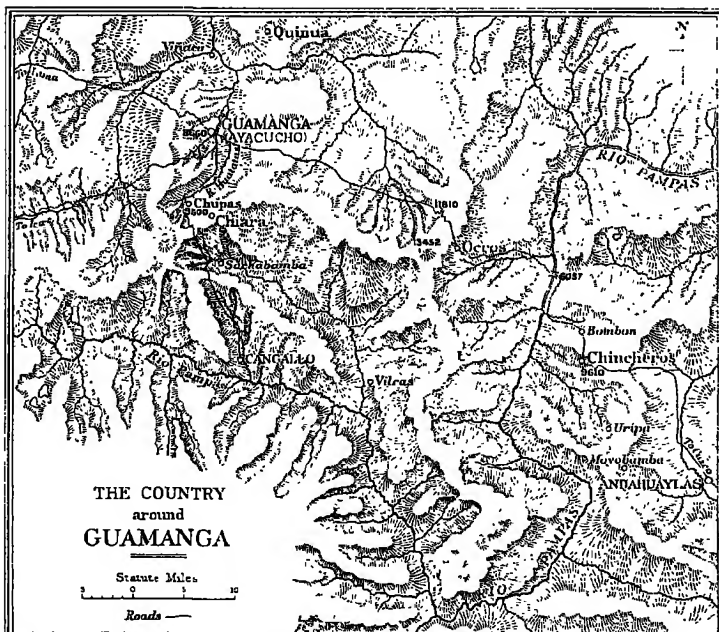
Guamanga is at the western base of the great maritime cordillera, its slopes descending in long spurs, with intervening ravines, to the city and its neighbourhood. The scene of the battle was high up, 9,500 feet above the sea, extending over two of these spurs and the ravine between them.

The road from Guamanga to Yca across the maritime cordillera, leaves the city along a pretty avenue, and then up the hill of Carmenca and the steeper ascent of Quica-pata.¹ Half way up this ascent a path turns off to the left, skirting along the spurs of the cordillera, and after two miles the ravine of *Lambras-huayccu*² is reached. Here, on the spur, Vaca de Castro formed his first camp. The stream below supplies Guamanga with water. In the upper part of the ravine there is a swamp during part of the year. Its width is about half a mile, more in some parts, wide enough for cavalry charges. On its further side the ascent is steep, and on this spur the artillery of Almagro was posted, near what is now the farm house of Chupas. All this country is now covered with wheat fields. Guamanga would be easily reached by following the Lambras-huayccu stream. Lying 9,500 feet above the sea, Chupas is exposed to storms of snow in the winter and early spring. Beyond Chupas, on another spur, is the farm of my old friend Don Manuel Tello, called *Cochabamba*. The view towards the cordillera is very grand. The sides of some of the gorges form perpendicular precipices, above which rise the snowy peaks. Beyond Cochabamba is the wheat farm of another of my old friends called *cojo* Arias;³ and further on is the village of *Chiura*, whence the road leads by *Sachapampa* and *Pomacocha*, to Vilcas. This was the route taken by Almagro's army from Vilcas, after crossing the lofty ridge of Cangallo. Guamanga is now usually written Huamanga.

¹ *Quica* is grey in Quiclua, *pata* an ascent.

² *Lambras* is the local name for a tree like an elder. *Huayccu* means a ravine.

³ *Lame (cojo) Arias*. I did not know his Christian name.



Cójo Arias told me that bones and a spur had been found on his estate ; also that Alonso de Alvarado brought some Indians of Chachapoyas with him and that, for services in the battle, they were granted land with freedom from tribute, and that they founded the village of Chiara. The wheat farm of Chupas belonged to Don Basilio Guillen.

My visit to the battle field of Chupas was on 26 February 1853.]

CHAPTER LXXVIII

Of the cruel battle between Vaca de Castro and Don Diego de Almagro, and how the men of Chile were routed and defeated with the loss of many lives, and their party for ever undone.

THE night having passed with great fears and hopes, each party thinking that they had justice on their side, the captains ordered the ensigns to muster their companies, and to give the signal by beat of drum that the soldiers, on hearing it, might know that the time for giving battle was so near that it only needed one side to strike the first blow. So the men of Chile went forth full of ardour, and raising their shouts to heaven, advanced with their hearts animated against their foes, and with minds longing to satisfy their hatred of their enemies. Their artillery, consisting of sixteen pieces, was placed in a good position, so that, from whatever point the enemy might try to assail it, it would overcome all attacks. The cavalry was formed into two squadrons, one under Don Diego himself and Juan Balsa, the other led by the captains Saucedo and Diego Méndez. One of these squadrons was larger than the other, and its flanks were held by Diego de Hoces and the same Diego Méndez. The infantry, stationed in rear of the artillery, was under Martín de Bilbao; and Martín Cote, a most valiant captain, led the arquebusiers, having detailed those necessary for the front of the squadron and either flank. The standard was planted

near the squadron led by Don Diego, and Pedro de Candía was with the artillery, ready to fire whenever the order should be given. The Sergeant-Major, Pedro Suárez, went about from one part to another, giving necessary orders. He was relied upon for his knowledge of war, having served in several countries, and being well versed in the art. In the forefront of the squadron there were men at arms posted, and the whole force numbered 550 Spaniards, a very brilliant array, for in truth there were cavaliers of good family, as we have pointed out in several places.¹

While Don Diego and his followers were marshalling their forces, Vaca de Castro ordered Lope Martín, a bold man, to mount his horse and go forward to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He did so, and returned after he had seen them, telling the Camp-Master Francisco de Caravajal how the artillery was placed. As soon as he knew this, he ordered his men to march more to the right, and led the way himself, saying many witty things. Then they saw that it was time to marshal the squadrons, and placed them in the positions assigned to them, with their banners. The captains Pero Alvarez Holguin, Gómez de Alvarado, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Pedro Anzures, with their companies of horsemen, formed one squadron. In the other

¹ The real truth was that there was not a single one of the old and trusted captains of the elder Almagro with his son; Diego de Alvarado had gone to Spain, Orgóñez and Lerma were slain at or after Las Salinas, Francisco de Chaves had been murdered by Juan de Herrada, and Sotelo by García de Alvarado. The rest were disgusted with the murder of the Marquis and at Juan de Herrada being placed over them. Four, indeed, were actually fighting in the army of Vaca Castro, namely Gómez de Alvarado, Saavedra, Guevara, and Montemayor.

The murder of the ever faithful and very able Captain Sotelo was a fatal blow to young Almagro. There was no one at Chupas that he could trust. Six of his captains were actual assassins of the Marquis Pizarro, three others were accomplices outside the chamber. Little reliance could be placed on the rest. The assassins and their accomplices would be fighting with ropes round their necks and would fight hard. But the ill-fated young half-caste, with his ability and bravery, was doomed.

was the captain Alonso de Alvarado, with his cavalry, and the royal standard. The infantry were formed up between the cavalry squadrons, with the captains Pedro de Vergara and Juan Vélez de Guevara at their head, and the captain Castro with the vanguard. They had 160 arquebusiers, and they mustered in all more than 700 Spaniards.

The Governor Vaca de Castro did not enter into the battle. He remained apart from the actual fray, giving it to be understood by his words that he wanted to fight, but, as the captains represented to him that this was not desirable, he retired. He sent to the squadron of Alonso de Alvarado, where the royal standard, then borne by Cristóbal de Barrientos was, saying that he desired twenty-seven of the principal persons to accompany him as an escort and bodyguard. When Alonso de Alvarado heard this, he sent to say that such a thing was not permissible; that, in an army of 20,000 men, the withdrawal or retention of even twenty men might turn the scale of victory. Although Vaca de Castro saw that there was reason in this, he again ordered his captain of the guard, Rodrigo de Ocampo, to come to him with Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego de Agüero, Francisco de Godoy, Diego Maldonado, the licentiate León, Antonio Navarro, Sebastián de Merlo, Cristóbal de Burgos, Nicolás de Ribera, and others up to twenty-seven; and these, whilst wishing to remain at the front, turned to obey the order of Vaca de Castro.

At this juncture, both sides discharged their arquebuses; and Francisco de Carvajal said: "Forward! good cavaliers, forward! advance without fear, and care nought for the arquebuses. Look at me, how fat I am, yet I go forward without feeling any fear of them." As they approached each other, the noise and the shouting were very great. Both parties advanced courageously, those of Don Diego shouting "Long live the King and Almagro," and the others "Long live the King and Vaca de Castro," all

calling upon the name of the apostle Saint James, while the bullets from the arquebuses filled the air.

The Camp-Master Pero Alvarez Holguin, after having passed through and shown some excitement during the day, charged his horse against the enemy, wishing to show his contempt for his opponents. Though men of great valour are often not recognized in the smoke of battle, Holguin was known by the device he wore. The enemy's arquebuses were pointed against him, and he was hit by two bullets before he could break his lance. He fell to the ground in the throes of death, and never spoke again—just able to make a sign to his men to dash at the enemy. Gómez de Tordoya was also wounded so badly that he died a few days afterwards. And now the two sides encountered each other, both infuriated one against the other. A great disaster to the men of Chile then happened. It was that, when the captain Saucedo saw that the sharpshooters were employing their arquebuses with effect, and had caused some deaths, he thought it would be well to move the artillery to another position, where one of the enemy's flanks was exposed—not noticing that it was already so placed as to rout them all the moment they should advance a little farther. He therefore ordered Pedro de Candía to move it, upon seeing which Sergeant-Major Suárez called out loudly to him not to budge, for if it did not remain where it was posted they were lost. But his words were disregarded and Candía transferred the guns to the position Saucedo had directed. Then the enemies mingled in the open with the soldiers of Almagro, and, though many cannon shots were fired off, only one took effect, which did much damage, tearing heads from bodies, and breaking the legs and arms of others. The other shots were fired, as some say, too high, or missed their mark owing to the artillery being so badly placed.

By this time great damage had been done and there were many dead. But were I to set forth in detail each

one who, when about to discharge a bolt, was shot through the heart by a bullet and so instantly fell dead,—or whose arms were shot away just as he was placing the match to fire,—or others killed suddenly by a bullet just as they were couching the lance or drawing the sword, the tale would never end. The squadrons of horse clashed, brother breaking lance against brother, but in that desperate peril no man would have hesitated to wound even his father, if he had seen him. One Garcia de Mala, having lost an arm, went forth out of the battle to where Vaca de Castro waited, and asked him why he was not helping his people. On hearing this Diego de Agüero rushed excitedly into the fray, and confronted the enemy. A bullet passed through the mouth of Antonio de Loaysa, and knocked out several of his back teeth, causing him to swoon. The cavalry fought with desperate valour and with a fervour so inflamed by anger, that no one cared to be wanting in ability to wound. Antonio de Robles, having been thrown from his horse, without losing his intrepidity, and he had not a little, turned with much agility towards the artillery and wounded one of the gunners, also getting wounded himself. Pedro de Candía did not discharge any more shots. The noise made by all was very great.

The lad Don Diego whilst fighting away, was told that there had been treason in the artillery firing. It is said that he went to Pedro de Candía and exclaimed: "Traitor! why have you sold me?" and thrusting at him with his lance, killed him. Others will have it that Candía used deceit with Don Diego and was disloyal in the matter of the artillery, but that he was killed by some soldiers of Vaca de Castro who penetrated to where he was stationed. Don Diego, seeing that his life depended on gaining the victory, went about in all parts of the battle animating his men.

The captain Alonso de Alvarado, on this day, gave proofs of his valour, and fought with great intrepidity.

Diego de Rojas, Pedro Anzurcs, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Pedro de Guevara did likewise. The same is said of Juan Vélez de Vergara. The captain Martín de Bilbao fought with Pedro de Castro. The battalions of infantry had now driven home the pikes, and had penetrated their several quarries with the iron points until they reached the entrails. All were now turning back. Night showed signs of approach while yet the strife of battle was at its highest pitch: and at last, both sides being worn out with fatigue, they separated for a moment to gather breath for a renewal of the conflict. In the part where the captain Alonso de Alvarado was fighting, were Diego de Hoccs and Saucedo with all the leading men of the Chile party. Some of these they killed, and whilst shouting "Victory!" they tried to capture others. Pedro de Vergara, with some infantry, bore a hand in that part, and Alonso de Alvarado being thus strengthened, ordered a renewed attack to disable the men of Chile, seeing how few there were. Against the grain they fell back for a short rest, still face to face, and then renewed the obstinate contest. Swords clashed down on helmets, stunning their wearers, and cut through coats of mail: then, pausing for a short space, apart, men glared at each other like bulls in the rutting season. Then the Sergeant-Major Francisco de Caravajal called out, in a loud voice: "Shame! shame! gentlemen of Cuzco! this is not a time for letting these traitors remain in the field against us," and so saying he rushed into the midst of the enemy. The horse of the licentiate Benito Suárez de Caravajal was killed, and he boldly took his place among the infantry, still fighting. There were many killed; and the wounded uttered mournful groans, yet encouraging those who fought, some with the battle cry of Almagro, others of Pizarro. The artillery was of no use and did no damage, because Pedro de Candía and his men being killed, there was no one to put a match to the guns.

As the battle was most fiercely contested in the part where Captain Alvarado was, Don Diego, either to encourage his men, or because he thought that his side was winning, began to call out loudly, "Victory! Take prisoners, but kill not!" Then it was that a thing happened from which it may well be said that death does not flee from a coward. The captain Pedro Anzures had a servant of whom he asked, many times, if he would not join in the battle. The man was not only unwilling, but, to be more remote from danger, he got under some rocks where he could have a clear view of what was going on, having by his side a small skin of wine. When the artillery was in action a shot struck the rocks where we have said this man was. It knocked off a boulder which fell and smashed the head and body of the man to pieces, so that he died, although he had been taking such care of himself.

The battle was at the critical point, and those who were standing with Vaca de Castro went forward to reinforce their friends. They went towards the place where the captain Diego Méndez was, thinking he was one of their party because victory was already certain for Vaca de Castro. As they went along singing a song of triumph, the men of Chile saw they were enemies, and they killed Montalvo with some others, cut off an arm of Cristóval de Burgos, a citizen of Lima, and wounded Merlo in the face. Thus they succeeded in doing more damage; but the Pachacama party, being the more numerous, though not surpassing their opponents in bravery, it began to be seen which side must win. Don Diego, and those of his captains who were still alive, continued to encourage the survivors wherever they went. The sun had now set, and after the men of Chile had done all that was possible to the utmost of their ability, they were defeated, and it became clear that Vaca de Castro's side were the conquerors.

A youth, named Jerónimo de Almagro, valuing his life

very little, and hating to be conquered, rushed in amongst the enemy shouting, "Hi! strike your blows at me! at me! and wreak your vengeance. 'Twas I who slew the Marquis." Saying thus he charged recklessly into the host, and received so many blows that he fell dead headlong. Martín de Bilbao did the same, saying that *he* had murdered the Marquis; and he met the same death as Jerónimo de Almagro.¹ Those who survived began to flee, with loose rein and no little anguish.

The Indians and negroes who took any men alive, killed them.² The Spaniards did uglier things, for they slashed the faces and bodies of those who had surrendered, and reviled them with words. Diego de Almagro fled towards Cuzco³ with Diego Méndez, and the camp was pillaged. The Almagro party was routed and broken up for ever. This battle was fought late on Saturday afternoon the 16th of September, in the year of our redemption 1542.

There were present on the side of Vaca de Castro the captains already named and many other gentlemen, among whom were: Lorenzo de Aldana, Diego de Agüero, Francisco de Godoy, Pedro de los Ríos, Gómez de Tordoya, Diego Maldonado, Lope de Mendieta, D. Pedro Puerto-carrero, Pedro de Portugal, Pedro de Hinojosa, D. Alonso

¹ Both were assassins of the Marquis. They did this to escape the halter.

² Some authorities say that the Inca Paula and his Indians, on the side of Almagro, made an attack early in the day, which was repulsed.

³ Juan Rodríguez Barragán, the ensign Enrique, and eight others also fled with Don Diego, as well as Diego Méndez.

Juan Balsa, Almagro's Captain-General, fled to Vilcas where he was killed by the natives. He had a house at Cuzco and had married an Inca Princess.

Some authorities say that Pedro Suárez, when he marshalled Almagro's army, told Don Diego to remain on the spur. His plan was to defend the ascent from the Lambras-huayccu ravine and not to attack. It is said that when Don Diego charged down at the head of his cavalry, Suárez told him that he would be defeated, but that if he had taken his advice he would have been victorious. It is added that he abandoned Don Diego, and went over to the side of Vaca de Castro. This story is not mentioned by Cieza de León.

de Montemayor, Lope Martín, Alonso de Mendoza, Diego Cénteno, Felipe Gutiérrez, D. Martín de Guzmán, Pero López (secretary), Juan de Mora, Vasco de Guevara, and others. With Don Diego there were the captains, and many valiant gentlemen and men, among whom were: D. Baltasar de Castilla, Jerónimo de Almagro, Martín Carillo, Juan Tello, Juan Ortíz de Zárate, Pantoja, Juan de la Rinega, Pedro de Oñate, and others.

The Licentiate Vaca de Castro was delighted at the good success and the victory that God had given him. He ordered certain priests and friars to attend on the wounded and to confess the dying. He also directed a very careful search to be made for those who were concerned in the murder of the Marquis Pizarro, that they might be punished. But as the night was already quite dark, the orders of Vaca de Castro could not be very completely carried into effect. Most of his soldiers thought of nothing but plunder, and of appropriating horses from among those that were straying about loose, and also of the Indian girls, who were what the soldiers were most eager about in those times.

[OTHER OFFICERS IN THE ARMY OF VACA DE CASTRO AT THE
BATTLE OF CHUPAS. (*Note by C. R. M.*)

- | | |
|--|--|
| Aliaga, Gerónimo de. Ancestor of the Counts of Lurigancho at Lima. | Caravajal, Francisco de. Sergeant Major of the army. Led the Infantry. |
| Alvarado, Alonso de. Cavalry—left wing. | Cáceres, Alonso de. Tried to hide Carillo after the battle, but failed. |
| Alvarado, Gómez de. An old captain of the Adelantado Almagro. | Carrasco, Pedro Alonso. |
| Anzures, Pedro de. Trusted captain of Pizarro cavalry—right wing. | Castro, Pedro de. An old and trusted captain of Pizarro. Garcilaso calls him Lope. Infantry. |
| Barbarán, Juan de. | Guzmán, Diego Ortíz de. |
| Barriento, Cristóval, Ensign. Left wing. | Hinojosa, Alonso de. |
| Burgos, Cristóbal de. Wounded. | Hojeda, Juan Julio de. |
| Caravajal, Illán Suárez de. Factor. Trusted friend of Pizarro. | Holguin, Pero Alvarez. Camp Master (<i>i.e.</i> Quartermaster-General); killed in battle. Cavalry—right wing. |
| Caravajal, Benito Suárez de (Licentiate), brother of the Factor. | Lara, Gaspar. |
| | Loaysa, Alonso de. Brother of the Bishop. |

Loaysa, Gerónimo de.
 León (Licentiate).
 Macerela, Alonso.
 Melo, García de. Wounded
 Mendoza, Lope de.
 Merlo, Sebastián de. Wounded.
 Montalvo. Killed in action.
 Navarro, Antonio.
 Ocampo, Rodrigo de.
 Palomino, Juan Alonso.
 Pancorvo, Juan de.
 Quiñones, Antonio de } brothers.
 Quiñones, Suero de }
 Quiñones, Pedro de. Cousin.
 Ribera, Nicolás de. An old friend
 of both Pizarro and Almagro.
 Ríos, Diego de los.
 Rojas, Diego de. A trusted young
 captain of Pizarro.

Rojas, Gabriel de.
 Saavedra, Juan de. An old cap-
 tain of the Adelantado Alma-
 gro.
 Salas, Juan de.
 Salas, Valdés de.
 Serra, Miguel de la.
 Soto, Alonso de.
 Truxillo, Diego de.
 Vásquez, Tomás. A turbulent
 character in every row.
 Vega, Garcilaso de la. Captain
 for Pizarro, always loyal, always
 trustworthy. Cavalry—right
 wing.
 Verdugo, Melchor.
 Vergara, Juan Vélez de. Infantry.
 Vergara, Pedro de. Infantry.]

CHAPTER LXXIX

How, after the battle, the Governor ordered the wounded to be tended, and had Gómez de Tordoya carried to Guamanga; how retribution was inflicted on the conquered, and how Gómez de Alvarado, being ill, died at Vilcas, and was taken to be buried at Guamanga.

ON the night after the battle it was very sad to hear the groans of the wounded, and the complaints they gave utterance to. But they received very little pity or help; on the contrary, the barbarians slaughtered them and stripped them of their clothes and left them naked. The captain Gómez de Alvarado was attacked by an illness of which he died at Vilcas. His body was conveyed to Guamanga for interment. They had also taken Gómez de Tordoya to Guamanga, sorely wounded, and after he had received the last offices of the Church he also died. Every one mourned for the deaths of these gentlemen and of Pero Alvarez Holguin, and the others who fell in the battle. They were very honourably interred, as men of such mettle deserved.¹ There were killed on the field in

¹ Holguin, Tordoya, and Gómez de Alvarado are said to have been buried in the little church of San Cristóbal at Guamanga, near the

that battle, counting both sides, 240 men. Some make the number higher, but I do not care to affirm anything that I do not know for certain.

On the morning after the battle, Vaca de Castro, taking with him his secretary and the chief magistrate of the camp, visited the tents to see whether there were any of the murderers of the Marquis Pizarro among the prisoners. As he did not see Martín Carrillo, but heard that the captain Alonso de Cáceres was keeping him concealed, giving out that he was dead, he ordered that he should be brought to his presence dead or alive, and this was done. Carrillo was a native of Ciudad Real. He and Pedro de San Millán of Segovia, and Francisco Coronado¹ of Jerez by Badajoz, and two others, were executed, and their quarters stuck on poles. Knowing that many fugitives had made for Guamanga, Vaca de Castro ordered the captain Diego de Rojas to take some mounted men and return to that city and arrest all who might be found there belonging to the enemy. While this was being arranged there was an alarm in the camp, owing to a report that a large body of men was in sight, who might be enemies. The Governor ordered the troops to stand to their arms until it was known to whom the men who were in sight belonged. Some horsemen rode out and found that they were their own people returning with plunder they had taken from the enemy's camp.

Then Vaca de Castro ordered a start to be made for Guamanga, which was done, and on arrival he was received

head of the avenue leading to the Chupas road. But *Cajo* Arias told me of the tradition that Gómez de Tordoya was not buried with the others, but in the church of La Merced, nearer the centre of the town. In 1887 a statue of a warrior was found in a niche in La Merced, recumbent on a mortuary bed, embracing his sword. It is of sandstone and 6½ feet long. It no doubt represents Gómez de Tordoya, probably due to the piety of his cousin Garcilaso de la Vega. The Indians of Guamanga (Ayacucho) are renowned as sculptors.

¹ All three were actual assassins of the Marquis Pizarro.

with much joy. He entrusted the business of retributive justice to the licentiate De la Gama, the licentiate León, and the bachelor Guevara. Diego de Rojas had already executed judgment on some,¹ but we will put down here together in one list all who were executed at Guamanga as well as those who met their fate between that city and Cuzco. They were—

Captain Cárdenas, of Toledo	Juanes de Santiago, of Santander
Pedro de Oñate	
Captain Diego de Hoces, ¹ of Zaragoza	Juanes (a Biscayan)
	Captain Juan Pérez, captain of cross-bowmen
Capt. Juan Tello, of Sevilla	
Bartolomé de Arbolancha ²	Juan Gómez de Salvatierra, of the Almendral
Francisco Pérez ²	
Antonio Noguero, of Puerto de S ^a María	Baltasar Gómez, ² of Valladolid
Basilio (an Italian)	Juan de Guzmán ¹ de Acuña, son of Vasco de Guzmán
Martel, of Sevilla ²	
Francisco de Mendibar, of Torrejón de Velasco	Juan Sánchez, ¹ of Estremadura
Captain Martín Cote (a Guipuzcoan)	Bartolomé Cabezas, ² of Jerez
	Ramírez, of León
Captain Juan Muñoz	Losa, ² of Zamora
Barragán (the younger), ¹ of los Santos	Carreño, of Sevilla
	Juan Diente, ¹ of Gibraltar ¹
Martín Carrillo ²	

Vaca de Castro was guilty of great remissness in not sending the news forthwith to the King our Lord and those of his Royal Council. Nay rather, several vessels were detained many days in the port of Lima, and many merchants and traders were put to serious loss through his

¹ Viz., Juan Tello de Guzmán, and Almagro's Camp-master Pedro de Oñate.

² Assassins of the Marquis.

Also Pedro de San Millán and Francisco Coronado.

action in not allowing them to leave the ports where they were anchored. The captain Francisco de Herencia and some others were banished, and a shipmaster was ordered to convey them to New Spain. When they were far from the coast of Peru they mutinied and went to Panamá. At that time I had come thither to negotiate certain business with the Audience which then sat at that city. The mutineers presented themselves before the members of the Audience, who set them free.

To return to Vaca de Castro. He remained for eight days in Guamanga, reforming various things for the good of the Realm, and despatching letters to the various cities in it to announce the victory that God, our Lord, had given him. Hearing that Don Diego had fled towards Cuzco, he ordered the captain Garcilaso de la Vega to set out at once for that city, with some cavalry, and occupy it in the name of his Majesty the King, our Lord. Should Don Diego be found in the city, he was to be arrested, as well as any of his followers who were there. So Garcilaso de la Vega departed, with some lancers, to carry out what the Governor Vaca de Castro had ordered him.

CHAPTER LXXX

Of things that were done by the Governor Vaca de Castro, and how he despatched some captains to undertake conquests in the Realm.

THE Governor Vaca de Castro was in the city of Guamanga, quite complacent at seeing the ditch under the gallows full of dead bodies, and the fine blood of Spaniards being shed in that square. This was no little pleasure for the natives to see also, though they were amazed on reflecting that many of the victims had been captains and men holding posts of honour. They carried the news of all this to the King Inca Manco Yupangue at

Viticos, where he was staying; and although he was glad that so many Spaniards had been killed, he regretted that Vaca de Castro was the conqueror and Don Diego was defeated, whilst pleased that it was left for himself to protect the young Almagro from the cruelty of Vaca de Castro. Having sent Garcilaso de la Vega to the city of Cuzco, as we have related, it occurred to Vaca de Castro that there were a great many people collected in Guamanga, that the provisions were being consumed, and that the citizens and other inhabitants were being unduly put to straits. So he decided to order some of those of his army to leave it. Presently he instructed Pedro de Vergara to go, with such followers as he required, to the province of Bracamoros, of his own conquering, where he had already done good service for his Majesty. He granted warrants and *encomiendas* there to Vergara and many others, desiring them to set out as soon as they could get ready. Vergara desired nothing better and, as soon as the wounds he had received in the battle were healed, he made his preparations to depart. Orders were also sent to Juan Pérez de Guevara, who was then at Lima, to proceed to the province of Moyobamba and settle it.

The Governor also wrote to all the cities of the Realm directing that if any of the men of the Chile party should seek refuge in them, they were to be arrested and put to death. He ordered the bodies of all who fell in battle on his side to be interred in the churches at Guamanga, and arranged that a hermitage should be set up on the battle field, for the invocation of our Lady of Victory, where the rest of the dead had been buried. The captain Pedro Anzures, and the others who were wounded, recovered. The municipality of Guamanga made a request to Vaca de Castro that he would confirm certain things in his Majesty's name, and that the city be thenceforward called "of the Victory," instead of, as heretofore "of the Frontier," a

request which the Governor was pleased to grant, and so it is called at the present day. Notwithstanding that several vessels were detained in the port of Lima by order of Vaca de Castro, and that leave was asked for permission to depart for Tierra Firme, he would not grant it, which was felt to be no small grievance. After he had made various arrangements, and given permission to those who wished it to return to their houses, Vaca de Castro set out for Cuzco, leaving the licentiate De la Gama in the city to complete his judicial work. He had not gone more than two leagues when he turned back again, so as to reach Guamanga at break of day, without letting those who were with him be aware of it. When he appeared again in the great square the people were astonished. This return was because many of those who escaped from the battle had hidden in some houses, and he wished to secure their arrest. This was soon effected, and they were delivered over to the licentiate De la Gama, who passed judgment on them. This being concluded Vaca de Castro continued his journey with those who were to accompany him to Cuzco. But as we must treat of the return of Gonzalo Pizarro to Peru, we will now tell how he got out of the Canela.

CHAPTER LXXXI

Of the things that happened to Gonzalo Pizarro until he came safely out of the Canela expedition and arrived at the city of Cuzco.

THE reader will remember that in previous chapters we mentioned the great labours and dire want of Gonzalo Pizarro and those who survived in the valley of the Canela, and the great desire they felt that God, our Lord, would show them some way by which they might return

to a Christian land. Having heard the account of the two Spaniards who had gone up the river in a canoe, and how they had seen that great mountain range or cordillera, Gonzalo Pizarro resolved to ascend the river with the remnant of his men as speedily as possible. So all the people got ready, some Spaniards going ahead to clear the way with axes and bush knives. Passing not a few swamps, they arrived after ten days' travel at the mark left by the men who had gone up the river before. Here Gonzalo Pizarro ordered Juan de Acosta to go with a small party, as quickly as possible, to where the Indians said there was a village. Juan de Acosta thereupon set out with eighteen Spaniards, armed with their swords and bucklers, and after walking for a good long time, they came to the village they were in quest of, on a high hill and very strong. But the Indians had no mind to admit them if they could help it, and with their usual dash they came out armed to oppose them. Juan de Acosta and his companions, though exhausted by hunger, entered like true Spaniards upon the encounter. After Juan de Acosta and two others had been wounded, the Indians fled, as usual. The Spaniards then ascended the hill and rushed the village, where they found plenty of food, to the no small delight of those sorry starvelings. They saw that the country they were in was a vast uninhabited wilderness, which must be traversed to reach Quito. Gonzalo Pizarro followed Juan de Acosta with the rest of the party, and in passing those swamps eight Spaniards died. When the worn-out survivors knew that they must cross that great wilderness, they were much afflicted, having all passed through so many hardships and sufferings. They cursed their luck which had been so adverse to them. But in the end, making the best of their misfortunes, those who remained alive prepared to face that infernal journey, taking the sick along on the few horses left to them as best they could.

So they toiled over the uninhabited waste, eating of all sorts, without leaving a dog, nor saddle leather, nor anything else that they could tear with their teeth. After having passed through infinite labour and fatigue they arrived at the village of *Coca* (where they had originally entered the Canela country) on foot, shoeless, and so transfigured that they could scarcely recognize each other. The natives received them as friends, and gave them what supplies they had; and, to get themselves into some sort of order, it was settled that they should stay there for ten days. In talking to the Indians it was found that there was a shorter way to Quito by another track, not the one they had followed, so they determined to take it. But on this track they met with several broad and very deep rivers, so that they were obliged to make bridges over some of them. Journeying in this way they came to a river which was so rapid that it took them four days to make a bridge; and whilst keeping watch at night, lest the Indians should come and attack them by surprise, they saw a great comet traversing the heavens. In the morning Gonzalo Pizarro said that, in his dreams, a dragon came and plucked out his heart, and tore it to pieces with his cruel teeth. He then sent for one Jerónimo de Villegas, who was held to be something of an astrologer, to ask him what he thought of it. He is said to have answered that Pizarro would find that the object he most prized was dead. After other things had occurred, which may be counted as trifles rather than as history, Gonzalo Pizarro and the remnant of his followers finally reached the confines of Quito. Those who survived from that expedition say that 240 Spaniards started on it, and that most of them died of hunger, though they took with them from Quito 6,000 pigs, 300 horses and pack animals, 900 dogs, and many sheep, all of which were eaten or lost.

We cannot lightly describe the deep sorrow Gonzalo

Pizarro showed when he heard of the disastrous death of his brother. Although Sarmiento, his Lieutenant, sent horses for him and some of his companions, they would not mount them, but preferred to enter Quito on foot, in such sort that it was grievous to see them. When Gonzalo Pizarro heard that Vaca de Castro had been accepted as Governor by the whole Realm, he felt it keenly. He said that *he* ought to govern, and that the King had been very ungrateful in not ordering that he was to succeed, on the death of the Marquis. He began to prepare to go in search of Vaca de Castro, wherever he might be; for it was not then known that the war was ended, nor that the victory had fallen to him in the battle.

CHAPTER LXXXII

How Garcilaso de la Vega arrived in Cuzco; of the imprisonment of Don Diego, and how Vaca de Castro travelled to that city.

AFTER the rout at the battle of Chupas, Don Diego de Almagro and Diego Méndez rode away together, with the intention of seeking refuge with the Inca Manco. They could have done this easily, if Diego Méndez had not caused delay by going to see a woman he kept as his mistress at Cuzco. To induce Don Diego to go to that city, he said that without fresh shoeing the horses could not take them anywhere, and that they must go to Cuzco to provide themselves with what they required, and that, after that, they could go to where the Inca was staying. Don Diego had to consent, although it was against his will, and they arrived in the city. Diego Méndez went off to the arms of his mistress, just as if he had come home victorious, but at that time the news of what had happened

had not reached Cuzco. Don Diego made haste to start; but, when at last they did, the result of the war was public knowledge. When Don Diego and Diego Méndez had got clear of Cuzco, they took the road to the valley of Yucay, intending to make their way thence into the mountains, in search of the Inca. Barragán, who had been left as Lieutenant at Cuzco, had by this time been made a prisoner; and when they heard that Don Diego was gone, Rodrigo Juan Gutiérrez Malaver, and some others went in chase. After some exigencies he was captured, with Diego Méndez, in the valley of Yucay, brought back to Cuzco, and lodged in custody.

Garcilaso de la Vega, and those who left Chupas with him, proceeded to Cuzco and at once took possession of the city in the name of the King, to keep order there until the Governor should arrive. Vaca de Castro left Guamanga as we have related, and travelled until he arrived at the ruined edifices of Vilcas. He remained there a few days to provide for the despatch of Pedro de Puelles as his Lieutenant to install settlers in the city of León. He selected those who were to go, gave them warrants for *encomiendas*, and ordered Pedro de Puelles to proceed on this duty. News arrived that Juan de Vargas, a veteran *conquistador* in those parts, had, after much trouble, cleverly captured Illa Tupac, one of the Inca's captains who had risen in rebellion and done much mischief. This was, indeed, a notable service that Juan de Vargas, who was a native of La Higuera, near Fregenal de la Sierra, performed; and the Governor approved of it. Having received his warrants, Pedro de Puelles set out from Vilcas with the Spaniards who had been told off to accompany him, and travelled until he reached the province of Huanuco, where, in the name of his Majesty, he founded the city of León.

While the Governor Vaca de Castro was still at Vilcas, news came to him that one of young Almagro's captains

was near by. In a former chapter we made mention of all who were put to death, and among them was included this one, named Juan Pérez. The Governor ordered that he should be sought for by the Indians, and that when he was captured he should be quartered. After giving this order, Vaca de Castro left Vilcas, and proceeded to the province of Andahuaylas. There he received word that there was scope for founding a city near the Bracamoros and Pedro de Vergara's territory, and, as it was desirable to arrange about the disposal of the people, he appointed Juan Porcel to be captain there. So Porcel started off with the Spaniards of his following for the place we have said. Vaca de Castro continued his journey until he arrived at the buildings of Limatambo, whence he sent off despatches to his Majesty informing him of the victory God had granted him, of how the Realm had been brought back to the royal allegiance, that Don Diego was a prisoner, that sentence had been duly executed on his captains, and other matters relating to the administration. Before he left Limatambo, there came certain captains from the province of Chile, where the captain Pedro de Valdivia was in charge, requesting the aid of more Spaniards for the subjugation of those parts. After Vaca de Castro had taken note of what those captains had to report, he set out for the great city of Cuzco, where a solemn reception was accorded him, and he was welcomed by all the people with great joy.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

Of the things that were done in the city of Cuzco by the Governor Vaca de Castro, and of his great avarice and vainglory.

AS soon as Vaca de Castro arrived at the city of Cuzco, he received many visits from the residents there. He was naturally inclined to be arrogant and haughty, and when he found that his party had routed Don Diego's and won the battle he became inflated with vanity to a degree quite unbecoming the profession to which he belonged. He ordered many gentlemen to attend him as his yeomen of the guard, and with them he spent money splendidly, having grand sideboards loaded with plate and huge candlesticks which might well have been dispensed with. He thought of nothing but amassing wealth, to satisfy his greed. This was a very ugly thing, for whilst his Majesty sent him to administer justice and conduct himself with rectitude, he set about gathering treasure for himself by unlawful means—and it is said that he had great natural skill in the art of acquisition. Indeed, some of his rivals allege that he received presents and bribes for the sale of *repartimientos*, which ought not, however, to be believed; nor have I been able to find any evidence of it. It is true that he wanted to make the valuable profits from *coca* his own perquisite, and not leave them open to all as they were before; and he ordered that no one, on pain of severe punishment, was to dare to contract for it from any of the best *repartimientos*, which he had reserved for himself. From this source and from other Indians he did strive to make money; and in this way, though he got little enjoyment out of it, he amassed great wealth, and he always endeavoured to settle his servants and friends in

the best positions. Yet, although Vaca de Castro had the vices of meaningless presumption, vainglory, and avarice, apart from them he was a good governor, and did useful things for the kingdom, all of which I will mention, for I am thereby a friend of truth, and let not anything otherwise ever be thought of me.

Well, returning to our Governor Vaca de Castro, he was busy with affairs appertaining to the government of the Realm, and, with the desire to partition the provinces, he accepted some presents from the native Chiefs. He visited Don Diego de Almagro, Diego Méndez, Juan de Olivas in prison, and the others who were detained. He said to them: "What utter folly can have induced you to make such a mistake as to rise in rebellion and publicly appear in arms against his Majesty's service, and to have done other ugly things which are well known?" The lad Don Diego answered that neither he nor those who had been his defenders had opposed his Majesty's interests or had any such thought. On the contrary, he always believed that he was working in the King's behalf, and to assume charge of the province, seeing that he had sufficient warrant to do so, from his nomination as successor to his father the Adclantado, made by virtue of a royal commission. Vaca de Castro retorted by casting contempt on what had been done. After some further talk, he took leave of the prisoners, saying that, notwithstanding they were all condemned to death by the general sentence, he desired that they should beg him for justice, and that they would be freed or condemned as the law might dictate. Having said this, he returned to his house. Don Diego was so afflicted that his feelings could not be more wrought upon, and all felt great sorrow for him. But Gaspar Rodríguez and others told Vaca de Castro that he had better behead the lad.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

How Don Diego, when he was in prison, tried to escape, and how he was beheaded by order of the Governor Vaca de Castro.

DON DIEGO DE ALMAGRO was imprisoned in the house of Hernando Pizarro, in a rather strong room which existed there, and Vaca de Castro's captains took care that he should not escape. After he had been there for some days, he began to seek for some means of escape, intending to take refuge at Viticos with the Inca Manco, and believing that, by adopting this course, his life might be saved. Certainly not a few felt regret that the lad should be put to death. The captains Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporredondo and Pedro Anzures de Castro, who were the favourite advisers of Vaca de Castro, would not hear of the execution not taking place. When Don Diego learnt this, he treated, as secretly as possible, with a page of his, for the purchase of two horses, the swiftest he could find. He was to have them ready in the river which flows through Cuzco close to his place of confinement, at a certain hour of the night. Some persons who knew about the purchase of the horses told Vaca de Castro, who, when he knew it, ordered Don Diego to be removed to the house of captain Gabriel de Rojas, and there he was watched with more care than before. The Governor Vaca de Castro took the opinions of some of his captains and friends as to what should be done with Don Diego. To all it seemed that the best course would be to put him to death, both on account of the crime he had committed and in order to safeguard the Realm and prevent the occur-

rence of fresh trouble. An indictment against him was drawn up, he was condemned to death, and the sentence was ordered to be notified in his presence. Don Diego replied by appealing to his Majesty, or, in the first instance, to the President and Judges of the *Audiencia* then accredited in Tierra Firme. He was told that this appeal could not take place; and, having made his protests, he retorted that since they would not allow his appeal, but insisted on putting him to death, he cited Vaca de Castro to appear before the Judge of Heaven, our God, where all would be judged without prejudice or passion.

After these events and some further parley he confessed, always displaying the mind of a man, and not of a youth such as he was, combined with a lofty and serious presence quite out of keeping with the humility of his parents. His eyes were steadily raised to a crucifix and, on being taken from the prison, the crier walked in front, shouting: "This is the judgment his Majesty the Emperor our Lord, and the Governor Vaca de Castro in his name, inflicts on this man as a usurper of the royal rights, and for having tyrannically rebelled and given battle to the royal standard," and other things about what had been done by him and his followers. On approaching the pillory, adjoining which was the block and an executioner ready to strike, Don Diego asked a favour. It was that he might die at the place where his father was executed, and be buried in the grave where his father's body rested, and that he might be placed beneath, and the bones of his father above him. When he reached the place of execution, they wanted to put a veil over his eyes, but he said there was no need for that, and they only had to order the executioner to perform his office. He asked them to let him have the little time that remained to him to enjoy with his eyes the sight of the image of our God, which stood there. Finally they persisted and bound his eyes against his will. He

was extended on the block and with great courage he suffered death at the very spot where in a bygone year his father had suffered.¹ The son's body was buried in the church of La Merced, in the same grave as his father, and in the manner he had requested. Don Diego was of medium height, twenty-four years of age,² or a little more, very just-minded and intelligent, brave and a good horseman, liberal and a friend to good works. His mother was an Indian woman, a native of Tierra Firme. There was great hope for his career if he had lived. He was not altogether free from vices: on the contrary, he had those which men of the Indies usually display. Captain Pedro Anzures went about enquiring of those who were present whether they had heard Don Diego say that he deserved his death, because the Marquis had been assassinated by his order. He did not ask this in ignorance, for he and every one else knew perfectly well that Don Diego had never used any such words; but he, and Vaca de Castro, and others thought that this would be useful for their own justification. Thus closed the career of Don Diego de Almagro the younger, and with him came to an end all that remained of his father's party, both men meeting the same manner of death in the city of Cuzco.³

¹ Cieza de León had already told us that the elder Almagro was strangled in his prison. But his body was publicly beheaded.

² Not so old, if he was born at Panamá. That city was only founded in 1520, and Almagro came there some years later. He was not more than nineteen.

³ The story of Diego de Almagro is very interesting, and exceedingly pathetic. It is interesting because this lad was the first *mestizo* or half caste distinguished for ability, nobility of conduct, and bearing. There have been many since.

Young Diego was born at Panamá. He was the son of an Indian servant girl who went by the name of Ana Martínez. Panamá was founded late in 1519. The elder Almagro did not settle there until after Espinosa's expedition, two or three years later than the founding of the city. Being the lad's father, his birth probably took place in 1522 or 1523.

The lad is said to have been well "endocrinated," so he no doubt

learnt to read and write, and to repeat the usual invocations and prayers of the period. When Martín de Alcántara came to Panamá on his way to join his half brother Francisco Pizarro in Peru, he met the young lad Diego, and very kindly took charge of him, to join his father. This was in 1535 when the lad was twelve or thirteen. At Lima Alcántara took young Diego to his house and treated him as one of his own children, until a way of sending him to his father (then engaged on his Chilean expedition) could be found. At last a servant named Juan de Herrada was engaged, who had come to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado. He also took the royal patent appointing the Adelantado Almagro to be Governor of a province to the south, to be called New Toledo. Pizarro's province, to be called New Castille, was the northern half of the Inca Empire, and the boundary was to be fixed by an arbitrator appointed by the King. Almagro did not wait for an arbitrator, but immediately marched north to settle the boundary himself, declaring Cuzco, and even Lima, to belong to him. This was the beginning of civil dissension in the Realm.

Young Diego must have had a very good time, with all the marching and adventure and none of the responsibility. Doted upon by his father, liked and made much of by the Adelantado's old captains, some of them men of good family and position, he acquired habits of breeding and self-respect. When his father was on the coast, young Diego was proposed as a hostage by the Judge-Arbitrator Bobadilla. Again when Almagro released Hernando Pizarro, his son was sent with the escort to the Governor's camp and received presents. These are the first occasions when he appears in history.

Diego was too young to take part in the battle of Las Salinas, and he does not appear to have been with his father. But he was at Cuzco, and Hernando Pizarro decided that he should be sent to his brother the Governor and Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro. He went with Alonso de Alvarado, Gómez de Alvarado, and his father's servant Juan de Herrada. They found Francisco Pizarro at Jauja. In interviews with the Marquis the lad entreated him not to put his father to death, and Pizarro assured him that he had no such intention. Young Diego was treated with hospitality, and even distinction, and when he went to Lima with Juan de Herrada, the Marquis sent orders that the lad was to be lodged in his own house, and treated as his son. Then the news came of the execution of the Adelantado Almagro. The son was persuaded by Juan de Herrada that it was done by order of the Marquis, which was quite untrue. The next news was that the royal patent authorized the Adelantado to nominate a successor to the government of New Toledo; and that he had named his son in his will. Herrada, who was the lad's evil genius, filled his mind with ideas of vengeance and ambition. When Pizarro returned to Lima he found young Almagro full of these ideas, and constantly intriguing with Herrada and others. He could no longer have the boy as an inmate of his house.

Herrada had acquired complete influence over young Diego's mind. This man had come to Peru with Pedro de Alvarado; and transferred his services to the elder Almagro, to attend on his son. He was a man of great energy, quick decision, and some power in acquiring influence over others. But here his good qualities ended. He had little ability, no judgment, and no mercy. His one virtue was devotion to Almagro and his son, but he only knew how to show it by an act of brutal vengeance.

The murder of the Marquis was entirely planned by this ruffian. All the old captains of the elder Almagro but one* were against it. The question arises how far young Diego was an accomplice. He was told by Herrada that Pizarro was going to kill him and all his friends, and it was proposed to him that the Marquis should be seized until Vaca de Castro arrived, who would judge between them. But I think that the boy was not cognizant of the intended murder until after its perpetration.

In a letter which young Diego wrote to the Judges of the Royal Audience of Panamá, putting forth his claim to succeed as Governor, he states that his object was to seize the Marquis, not to murder him: and that he regretted his death. The letter is dated 14 July 1541.† I think that this may be believed.

Juan de Herrada showed great energy after the murder; disarming and arresting, and forcing the municipal officers to acknowledge young Diego as Governor. But when nearly all the Spaniards outside Lima rose against him, he showed nothing but incapacity and arrogance. He tortured and killed Pizarro's secretary, and murdered Francisco de Chaves owing to a private feud, the only old captain of the elder Almagro who was an accomplice, though not an actual murderer. Both were acts of un wisdom and stupid violence. The accomplice of whom he had the highest opinion was a young ruffian named García de Alvarado, violent, incapable, and brutally selfish—an unscrupulous robber. Yet the ill-fated boy remained completely under the malign influence of Juan de Herrada, and consented to make him General of the forces he was collecting. He was thus placed over all the veteran captains of the elder Almagro, men of position, of tried valour, with great military experience. They were not prepared to serve under the upstart Herrada, and they were all disgusted at the murder of the Marquis, an atrocious crime which could not be forgiven, as well as a piece of folly, which no one with any judgment would have committed. Sooner or later all his father's old captains except one left the service of the unhappy boy, and joined the royal Governor—Gómez de Alvarado, Saavedra, Montemayor, Guevara, all fell away from the murderers. One only stood firm for the boy, for the sake of his father. This was Cristóval de Sotelo, an old soldier of the school of Orgóñez, but able, experienced in war, and possessing no common skill in all matters relating to his profession. He was true as steel to the cause he had once espoused.

Herrada found it necessary to leave Lima and make for Cuzco, there to await events. He was taken ill on the way and died at Jauja showing his incapacity with his dying breath, by advising that Sotelo and García de Alvarado should command jointly. Sotelo of course declined such a position, and García de Alvarado went with a following to Arequipa, nominally to collect men and arms, but really for plunder.

Young Diego, now free from the evil tutelage of Juan de Herrada, began to act for himself, and showed that he possessed ability and force of character. He was not altogether without help, though surrounded by murderers and self-seekers. In Sotelo he found a true friend and

* Chaves, and he was not among the assassins.

† *Muñoz Coll.* It is printed in Spanish by Prescott, in an appendix at the end of vol. ii of his work.

a wise counsellor, and during the march to Cuzco, under such guidance, he brought his levies of 550 men into a state of tolerable military efficiency.

At Cuzco young Diego worked hard with Sotelo, in preparing arms, superintending the casting of cannon by Pedro de Candia, and consulting about the best course to pursue. Then the young ruffian García de Alvarado arrived from his freebooting expedition to Arequipa, with a large amount of treasure. He used it to form a party of his own in the camp. He was jealous of Sotelo, who at the time was ill in bed with a fever, and he went to his house to pick a quarrel, ending by murdering him. Young Diego did not dare to arrest the assassin owing to the party his stolen treasure had got around him. He bided his time. He even consented to make him second in command with special powers. The ambition of the young ruffian (he was twenty-nine) was to have chief command. He intended to murder young Almagro. But the half-caste was more than a match for him at that game. There was to be a grand supper, and García de Alvarado was to go to Diego's house and invite him, having arranged for his murder after the supper. Diego made a different arrangement, which was to kill García de Alvarado when he came to say that the supper was ready. This was done.

But the lad was still surrounded with difficulties and dangers. There was a well paid Alvarado party which was discontented. The loss of Sotelo was fatal. The gallant boy had not a single friend whom he could trust—his associates were a gang of murderers and self-seekers. He thought he had a friend, in a man named Lope de Idiáquez, and consulted him. But he proved a traitor. There was also an old soldier who had served in the Italian wars and could marshal an army to the best advantage, but he too was false and a traitor.

Thus, without a single friend upon whom he could rely, this boy of nineteen prepared to encounter the Governor's army led by all the experienced cavaliers and soldiers in Peru. To have undertaken this showed great courage, and that he should have done it so well denotes rare ability. It is true that he must have known that all the leaders would fight to the last, for they fought with halters round their necks. But the equipment of the force, the provision of arms and accoutrements, the organization, the route, the marching order, were all due to the energy and ability of this half-caste boy.

Young Almagro would have been pardoned before the battle, if he had consented to abandon the cause of the murderers who were in his army. He was too honourable to entertain such a proposal. He fought with great valour and determination at Chupas, to the bitter end.

This fortune followed him in his flight from the lost battle. He had with him Diego Méndez, who was a fool as well as an unmitigated scoundrel. Young Almagro should have made his way direct from the Apurímac to the mountain fastness of the Inca. But Diego Méndez persuaded him to come to Cuzco for horse shoes, merely because the rascal wanted to visit his own mistress, the news of the battle of Chupas not having yet reached the city. The delay was fatal to young Diego. The bad news arrived when he had only got as far as the valley of Yucay. A party was sent in pursuit and he was captured.

Young Diego made a final effort to escape his fate. A faithful young page bought two horses, and he intended to take refuge with

CHAPTER LXXXV

Of other things that were done by the Governor Vaca de Castro, and how he appointed Diego de Rojas and Felipe Gutiérrez to be his captains in the subjugation of the region of the Río de la Plata.

AFTER Don Diego de Almagro had been executed, as related in the last chapter, some of those who had sided with him in the battle were judged and, in deference to their excuses, received moderate sentences.¹ The Governor then sent off despatches to his Majesty and his exalted Council relating all that had happened. He ordered the royal officers to watch closely that nothing of the property confiscated for the royal treasury should be lost, and in all things great care was taken. The captain Monroy had come from Chile, where Pedro de Valdivia was governing, to ask for assistance, as the force there was insufficient

the Inca. But the scheme was betrayed, and he was more strictly guarded. This misfortune is much to be regretted. Inca Manco would have received the able young soldier with hospitality and kindness. He would have thrown in his lot with the Incas and, as their very efficient General, would probably have repulsed the force sent against Tupac Amaru, and thus prevented the disgraceful scene, for which the Viceroy Toledo was responsible, in the *plaza* of Cuzco.

Young Don Diego de Almagro met his death with the calmness and dignity of a Christian knight, and the courage of an Indian Chief. He should have been spared. The political reason for the execution of his father—that he was a source of danger owing to the still unbroken strength of his party—did not exist in the case of the son. The Almagro party had been annihilated. The lad should have been sent to Panamá or to Spain.

It is a very sad story, and most interesting as a proof of the ability and courage of the first distinguished half-caste.

¹ Diego Méndez and seven others took refuge with the Inca, who showed them great kindness. In return they murdered their host and tried to escape, but were promptly seized and put to death by the Inca's servants. The murder took place in 1545. The design of these villains was to obtain a pardon for having borne arms with Don Diego, by disposing of the Inca.

either to overcome the natives or to complete the exploration of the interior in that region. As Vaca de Castro saw that it would be advantageous for the royal service he gave all the help he could. A little less than a hundred Spaniards were raised, with arms and horses, for Monroy to take back, and a ship laden with necessaries was sent coastwise. As the Governor Vaca de Castro could not satisfy all those who had joined him by giving them allotments of Indians, he took great care to furnish those who undertook discoveries and conquests, with horses and other equipment, so that they might set out from the Realm well provided. We may well praise this policy as a prudent one.

There were highly promising reports of the provinces extending to the west [*sic!*], where the very large and powerful river of La Plata flows, so broad that when it enters the Ocean it appears more like some arm of the sea than a river. In former times, when its mouth was discovered, certain Spaniards who ascended this river recounted great things; but the fame of such stories always exceeds the reality. It was said that there was so vast a quantity of gold and silver that the Indians held it for nought, and that there were emeralds there as well.

I knew Francisco de César, who was a captain in the province of Cartagena, which is situated on the coast of the Ocean, and one Francisco Hogaçon, who was also one of the first conquerors of that province, and I have often heard them talk, and affirm with an oath that they saw much treasure and great flocks of the cattle we call here Peruvian sheep, and that the Indians were well dressed and of good mien. They said many other things that I need not write of.¹ Afterwards Don Pedro de Mendoza went out as Governor to that country, and events took

¹ César was at the Rio de la Plata before he went to Cartagena.

place which I will relate in the account of the last war and the coming of the President Pedro de la Gasca.

As the fame of that rich country spread far and wide many desired to be in it. When the captain Pedro Anzures went to explore the Chunchos, he got reports of that river. It was supposed that it had its source in the lake of Bombon; and that the principal affluents of this river of La Plata were the Apurimac and the Jauja. Felipe Gutiérrez and the captain Diego de Rojas, desirous of making some conquest which would be memorable and give satisfaction to his Majesty, asked the Governor Vaca de Castro to entrust them with the leadership of an expedition; and as he was anxious to see the soldiers dispersed, the back country opened up and thoroughly explored, and the name of Christ made known in all parts, he was glad of their proposal and very willingly favoured all who wished to take part in the adventure, by furnishing them with arms and horses and money. So he nominated Felipe Gutiérrez as Captain-general, Diego de Rojas as Chief Judge, and Nicolás de Heredia as Camp-master, with the necessary powers and commissions, in the name of our lord the King. In default of Gutiérrez through illness, or being killed by the Indians, Diego de Rojas was to succeed to the chief command; and if, in his turn, Rojas should fail, Heredia was to take over charge. When the soldiers learnt that Diego de Rojas was going to be a leader in the expedition, many, holding him to be a good captain, prepared to follow him.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

How the Governor, Vaca de Castro, parcelled out the lands, and how the Captain Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at the city of Lima and talked openly about affairs.

HAVING made the arrangements just described, Vaca de Castro, by virtue of the commission he brought as Governor, ordered a general *repartimiento* to be made of all the *encomiendas* that were vacant, taking care not to forget himself nor those he took to be his friends, for to himself and them he allotted the best and greater portion. Either to justify the course he took, or to become acquainted with everything down to the roots, he ordered four of the old *conquistadores* to inform him, under a solemn oath, of the services rendered by every one who had been in the Realm from the beginning. This being done, he allotted all the natives of the provinces among them, and issued titles to the *encomenderos*; requiring them, however, in the name of our lord the King, to use them fairly, and to instruct the bondsmen in the affairs of our sacred religion; and he gave orders that all the villages and towns in the Realm should be visited. As many captains might be leaving Peru, to undertake conquests, Vaca de Castro ordered that they might take just a moderate number of Indians for their service; for it would not be a fair thing to still further deplete provinces which were nearly depopulated owing to the calamities of the late wars. If any soldier tried to deviate from this order he was to be punished. This order of Vaca de Castro was certainly very beneficial, for there had been great irregularities in the past.

We have already mentioned how Gonzalo Pizarro came

out of the Canela country very worn out, both himself and the others who escaped from that adventure. When he heard of the murder of his brother the Marquis, and that Vaca de Castro had been acknowledged as Governor, Gonzalo was much annoyed, for it seemed to him not just that he should be deprived of that charge, seeing that by virtue of a royal provision and the nomination of the Marquis, he, Gonzalo, was Governor of Quito. He spoke about it in this wise quite openly, saying that *he* ought to govern the Realm, no matter whom it might displease, and that the ingratitude of his Majesty was great, with other disrespectful words. When, on the road, he heard of the victory of Vaca de Castro, he rejoiced in so far that the murderers of his brother had received their deserts, and he would have been glad to be present in that battle with the rest, in order to fully revenge himself on them. But when his journeying brought him to Lima he talked still more freely, as we have said, and between him and his friends a conspiracy was hatched against Vaca de Castro. As nothing is hidden from those who govern, the news of all this soon reached the Governor, and when he heard it he sent the bachelor Juan Vélez de Guevara to Lima as his lieutenant, with orders not to permit any disturbance, nor any disrespect to his authority. With these instructions Guevara set out for Lima, Vacá de Castro first having written letters to Gonzalo Pizarro, directing him to come to Cuzco. Gonzalo, therefore, on seeing this command departed from Lima for the city of Cuzco, and as soon as Vaca de Castro knew of his approach he ordered that there should be men at hand ready for anything that might crop up, and that his captain of the guard, Gaspar Rodríguez de Camporedondo, should exercise special care in watching the Governor's person.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

How they discovered great deposits of gold in the river Caravaya, how Vaca de Castro ordered all the old tambos and lodgings to be occupied, and of the departure of Pedro Anzures and Francisco Becerra for Spain.

VERY great things happened in the Realm at this time; and notwithstanding the constant wars, the people who lived in it appeared very contented and seemed to take fresh heart, at all points. And it pleased God, in appreciation of the Christian zeal of the Emperor Don Carlos, our lord, that great kingdoms and provinces should be discovered during his reign, full of rivers and hills, the richest in metals of gold and silver that have ever been seen. Although the sins of the men who live out here are many, their Catholic aspirations and eagerness to make war on the infidels in support of the great expense and disbursements involved, led them on in these enterprises. So it was that in this year the richest of all the gold mines in this country were found at a river called *Caravaya*—of which I do not treat here, because I have told about it in my “Book of Foundations.” The gold that was extracted was of perfectly pure quality, and there were many instances of 500 and 1,000 *pesos* being taken from one trough. Altogether they got from this river more than 1,300,000 *pesos*’ worth. As the treasure was so great, so also the labour was not less. It employed many gangs of Indians and, the climate being very different from that of Peru, a great number of them died. From these natives Vaca de Castro got lavish supplies of gold; and, retaining the *coca* profits as he did for himself alone, he realized further large sums of money to meet the extravagant expenditure caused by his

ostentation and by requiring greater ceremonial homage than was a Governor's due. The rich yield of the river of Caravaya was increasing, and ordinances were enacted to regulate affairs concerning the mines. Hearing that great outrages were being committed on the natives because many of the post houses or *tambos* on the royal road from Cuzco to Quito were badly provided, and that some men had been carried off in chains, by which God our Lord was ill served, and his Majesty too, Vaca de Castro issued an ordinance which was very proper and beneficial at the moment. He ordered the feoffees and the caciques or Chiefs of the various provinces to see that the post houses were maintained in the same manner as in the days of the King Inca Huayna Ccapac, and that they should always be kept supplied with provisions for persons travelling in the Realm. The Chiefs were also obliged to provide certain Indians to go from *tambo* to *tambo* with what was necessary; and if any Spaniard should exact more than the statutory provision we have stated, he was to be rigorously punished. In this way the roads were well provided and Spaniards passed along them without trouble.

At this time the captain Alonso de Alvarado, now that the war was over and the King was in possession of the whole country, resolved to proceed to Spain, to give an account to his Majesty of all that had occurred. He set out accordingly and arrived at Tierra Firme just when the Ordinances which his Majesty caused to be sent out reached those parts; the transcript being brought by one Diego de Aller, who also said that Blasco Nuñez Vela was coming in the capacity of a Viceroy to enforce them. As the captain Pedro Anzures and the accountant Juan de Cáceres were then in Panamá, with other settlers from Peru, they urged Don Alonso to return—for the defence of his property and to petition against the Ordinances. Alonso de Alvarado answered prudently that if he returned

and any disturbance should arise, they would blame him for it. The proper thing for them all to do, said he, was to memorialize the King, with great humility, respecting the laws; and that, being so Christian a prince, he would not allow them to be deprived of their estates which they had acquired with so much labour, and that they should go to Spain to present themselves before his Majesty, who would order justice to be done. Besides this that Alonso de Alvarado said to those who were in Panamá, he wrote to the cities of Lima, Truxillo, and Chachapoyas, and others in Peru, advising that they should act in this and in no other way: which fact I adduce in order that the fidelity with which this captain was determined to serve his King may be understood, and even in the presence of the President Gasca I saw clear enough evidence of his loyalty over this business, and it seemed to be true.

But let us now return to our subject, which is that the Governor Vaca de Castro being desirous of dispersing the Spaniards who had collected together owing to the war now ended, and understanding that beyond Charcas, to the west, there were natives and capabilities for founding a city, he ordered the captain Gabriel de Rojas to go and attend to it, and gave him the requisite powers and faculty, in the name of the King. Though Gabriel de Rojas set out to found the city, he did not succeed; and therefore we will say nothing more about that, but we will now speak of the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro at Cuzco.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

How the captain Gonzalo Pizarro arrived at the city of Cuzco, accompanied by some followers, but had not laid aside his rebellious design of occupying the Realm; and of what else happened.

THE captain Gonzalo Pizarro travelled to Cuzco accompanied by a few comrades who had come out of the Canela country with him, and others who now joined him, who, by always talking of things of the past without considering the serious trouble that must overtake them in the future, incited him to no good purpose, but to a course which might do much harm. This is the great sorrow I feel—that many princes and great lords, if vain words had not been poured into their ears by the voices of youths and flatterers, would not have involved themselves and their neighbours in so many calamities and disasters. It has been the same in these Indies, where the men living in them are alike astute and malicious, as well as so much addicted to uproars that the governors and captains who wish to live peaceably get no chance of doing so. Some to avenge themselves on others, some to obtain commands and dignities, some to secure favours and riches, incite the poorer sort to live at enmity with their equals. They rise for certain objects, and, forced by necessity, have to carry their opinions forward, while those who thus commit them slip out of the mess when they see a time for it. So it was with the ill-fated captain Gonzalo Pizarro who, besides being ambitious to command, was so stirred up by his followers that, after having served his Majesty loyally and well, he entered upon bad and ugly courses,¹ as we are

¹ He, at the request of all the principal Spaniards in Peru, took up their cause against the New Laws, and, when it suited their interests, they basely deserted him.

told on a stone memorial which is set up in the city of Cuzco, forever branding him as a traitor.

When Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived within a short distance of Cuzco, his companions urged that, having been acknowledged as Governor at Quito on the strength of his appointment and nomination by his brother, he ought now to be Governor of the whole kingdom just as his brother the Marquis was before his death. Should he not take this step, they said, he would be looked upon by all as a weak man wanting in resolution, and he would be held in poor esteem for not daring to take what was rightfully his. With this specious talk matters reached such a pass that he came to an understanding with them, and they with him, to kill Vaca de Castro and seize the Realm: at least so it is said. Villalba was present amidst these intrigues, but disapproved of their upshot and pressed on in advance to Cuzco, where he warned Vaca de Castro of what was in the wind. The Governor, when he was told about it, gave orders to the guard to be very watchful; and, on collecting as many more as he was able to, he found himself with 400 men. The principal captains were acting in concert, and agreed that if, when Gonzalo Pizarro should come, he did anything that was not lawful nor proper for the King's service, they would cut off his head. By that time Gonzalo Pizarro had arrived close to the city and, as there is never any lack of some one to give information, letters were sent along to meet him, advising him to be careful of his person, because Vaca de Castro intended to kill him. When he knew this Gonzalo Pizarro spoke to Juan de Acosta and others, warning them to be ready to kill Vaca de Castro when they would meet, and that he himself would give the signal. When Gonzalo reached the city, some persons came out to receive him. It was now publicly known that Villalba had disclosed the plot, so Gonzalo Pizarro declared with an oath that he had no such thought,

and that Villalba had spoken lies. Villalba maintained what he had said, and retorted by declaring the names of those concerned in it. As they now saw and understood that they were found out, some of them fled, but Vaca de Castro ordered them to be searched for and, if discovered, to be put to death.

When Gonzalo Pizarro came to the street where the Governor's house was situated, there were numerous arquebusiers posted along the walls, and a body-guard within. Martín de Guzmán was at the door, with orders not to let anyone enter except Gonzalo Pizarro himself, and this was obeyed. Vaca de Castro received him very well, and conversed with him on his expedition into the Canela country, and the great hardships he had endured. After he had advised Pizarro to now give himself rest, the latter took leave of him. But the men around Pizarro did not discontinue their intrigues. They told Gonzalo Pizarro that Vaca de Castro wanted to kill him while others told Vaca de Castro that Pizarro wanted to kill *him* and seize upon the government. Then Vaca de Castro sent for Gonzalo Pizarro and, by a writ under the hand of the secretary Pero López, required him to proceed to Charcas, where he had estates, and to stay there, without maintaining any body of men which might give rise to a renewal of the scandal, on pain of being declared a traitor and forfeiting all his property. He was to live there as a private person.

They say that, after this, Gonzalo Pizarro continued to entertain damaging intentions against the Governor, and that one day, when Vaca de Castro was out with his guards, Pizarro came up to speak to him. The arquebusiers, seeing him approach, stepped forward to intercept him; but on observing this Vaca de Castro said, "Stay where you are, for where Don Gonzalo Pizarro is, I deem myself safe and need no other guard." When Pizarro heard these confident words he abandoned the design he had been nursing,

and set out, accompanied only by his servants, for the town of Plata, where he had Indians who yielded more income than is possessed in Spain by the Archbishop of Toledo and the Count of Benavente.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

How the captains Felipe Gutiérrez and Diego de Rojas set out from Cuzco on their expedition of conquest.

IT will be well, now that the wars of Las Salinas and of Chupas are by-gones, while the time has not yet come for those of Quito and Huarina, and the others which were fought in the Realm, that we should continue our history by relating the things that happened, for I have set myself the task of giving an account of them to my country. Yet my mind is so confused in trying to comprehend the affairs which we yet have to deal with, and my body so aweary through the long journeys and protracted vigils I have passed through, that I certainly need divine help to complete the great undertaking that I have in hand.

My condition is like it was during the expeditions I took part in, when climbing great and rugged mountains so lofty that their summits were lost in the clouds and the scud that accompanied them. At times, when I saw myself in the midst of the ascent, I used to feel so fagged that it was very difficult for me to reach the top; and on turning to gaze beneath me it seemed as if the deep ravines must reach down into the inferno. So in my exhausted state I prayed to God to give me strength to pass onward. Looking back at what I have written since 1523 down to the present time, and realizing how voluminous the writing has been, as well as the much that remains to be finished, I am

in still greater trouble than I was in the mountains. For were I to finish off here what is begun, the work would be incomplete ; while, if I go on, my judgment is so weak, and my head so vacuous that I know not how I shall be able to do it. But reflecting, as the Philosopher says, that some men must attempt great deeds and worship lofty ideals, the commoner sort being open to all, I will go on, while praying to God to give me strength, and invoking the aid of His most holy Mother ; and I will finish the work, or perish in the attempt.

We have already said that the Governor Vaca de Castro appointed the captain Felipe Gutiérrez to be the leader of an exploring party to the region lying to the northward of the famous river of La Plata and the Strait of Magellan, and the captain Diego de Rojas to remain as Governor of the first city they might found ; and that he named Nicolás de Heredia, jointly with these, as Camp-master. As, in this empire of the Indies, there had been great trouble, owing to the death of those in command, Vaca de Castro desired that his Majesty's interest should not suffer in such a contingency this time. So he provided that, if it should please God to take Felipe Gutiérrez, the command should vest in the two, and, if one of them died, the other should remain in charge. There were great reports of a river called *Arauco*, on the borders of Chile, and the intention was to explore in that direction. As soon as the captains received their commissions, they busied themselves in enlisting men, and soon got 130 Spaniards together, horse and foot. To provide for them, besides the help given by Vaca de Castro, they all three laid out as much money as they could provide. For Ensign-general they had Hurtado, for captain Pedro López de Ayala, for royal officer Rodrigo de Cantos. Among them, too, was the spirited youth Diego Alvarez, who was afterwards Ensign-general at the rout of Huarina. When all things were ready, Diego de Rojas set

out for the valley of Chiquana¹ with sixty Spaniards, where he decided to wait for the General Felipe Gutiérrez, and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia. So Diego de Rojas departed, and marched until he reached that valley, where he learnt from the local Indians that there were large native settlements farther on and that the Indians thereabouts had many Spanish fowls. These were derived from the Spaniards who went out from Spain by command of his Majesty to explore the river of La Plata, taking Don Pedro de Mendoza with them as Governor, and who went through many wonderful experiences, concerning which I will not write.

Now let the reader please observe what a deal there is for us to understand in the affairs of Peru. A very particular friend of mine has told me that I ought to give information respecting the great rivers Uriaparia and Marañon, and this one of La Plata. I answered him that if it should please God to give me grace to get through with the itinerary of my journeys I would write a special book for him on those subjects; but that at present I am concerned with the true account of men who in those days were engaged in discoveries, and must therefore leave the reader to find in that one what is here wanting. For the purpose of pursuing this, our work, there is no need to state more than that the Spaniards who accompanied Mendoza had but recently come from Spain, and did not understand the ways of the New World, nor what men have to surmount there; so that many of them died. The survivors, after their Governor's death, were gentlemen and men of honour, for death takes more quickly those of low degree than the noble; and these pushed on inland from the east side, traversing many regions and great provinces, until at last they came out very near to the town of Plata, as we will

Now *Chicuana*. But the modern place is far from the old site.

relate farther on. As the ships that had landed them on the coast left some of the fowls I have mentioned, our two explorers were able to procure some, and the natives, finding that they were profitable, and dainty eating, bred so many that they became distributed and increased far and wide, and thus it was that Diego de Rojas came to hear about them. As these Indians were such romancers, they exaggerated the reports of that country, saying that the Christians who went there were very fortunate, and that the land was very rich in gold and silver of its own production. The Spaniards, hearing these things, besought Diego de Rojas to leave the eastern¹ road, which led towards the river Arauco, and to make for the part mentioned by the Indians, so that in a short time they might perchance find themselves in a country where all would become rich. Diego de Rojas, eager for discovery, was overjoyed on hearing the words of those who wanted to go that way, and decided to do so.

CHAPTER XC

How the General, Felipe Gutiérrez, and the Camp-master set out from Cuzco, and how Diego de Rojas went to explore in the direction indicated by the Indians.

THE General Felipe Gutiérrez and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia had remained in the city of Cuzco, and, as soon as Diego de Rojas departed, they sent the Spaniards outside, because, being in small parties, they would gain supplies more easily, and the Indians would suffer less hardship. When everyone else had gone, the captains departed likewise. It is very commonly the case

¹ Western?

that the men who roam about this country are ill disposed, friends to turmoil and enemies of concord, without having any reason for breeding strife; and thus, some of those who had arrived at the place where Diego de Rojas was waiting told him that Felipe de Gutiérrez was coming with some of his friends, and harboured an intention of murdering him, when they arrived, so as to gain the sole command. Diego Rojas did not fail to be disturbed on hearing what we have said, but, being a prudent man, he did not believe it to be altogether true, nor did he put all suspicion aside, but took warning to look out for himself. As those who were with him were eager to go forward with the expedition, he ordered forty Spaniards to get ready to go with him, at the same time writing to Felipe Gutiérrez to make haste and join him. He left Diego Pérez Becerra in charge of the camp, and secretly instructed Pero López de Ayala to go back and meet Felipe Gutiérrez, ascertain his intention and proceedings, and report the result to Diego himself. Pero López de Ayala went, with three mounted companions. As soon as these messengers had departed, Diego de Rojas left Chiquana and, guided by what the Indians had told him, made his way over pretty difficult country until he reached a province called *Tucumá*,¹ which lies beyond the cordillera of the Andes, and at the foot of very rugged hills, which, however, are not more than four leagues across. To reach this province they followed down the course of a stream. The distance from there to Chiquana, where the camp was left, is fifty leagues.

In some parts of this province there are dense forests; the rest is open plain, and there the Indians have built round houses of heavy timber framing, thatched with straw.

¹ Tucumán. It was then a common practice to substitute the *d* for the terminal *an*. The name of the Chilean commander Villagran is often spelt without the *n*—Villagrà.

The natives knew of the coming of the Spaniards, rumours of it having spread far and wide, but they had not the courage to oppose them. On the contrary, they fled from their homes like cowards, through fear of the invaders. When Diego de Rojas arrived at Tucumá and found that the natives did not come out to him, having intelligence of a more populous district farther on, he decided to continue his march to another village called *Capayán*. The Chief of that place, when he heard that the Christians were coming, ordered 1,500 of his vassals to assemble, all loaded with straw, besides carrying their ordinary weapons. When they came near to where Diego de Rojas and his comrades were advancing, the Chief ordered the straw to be laid down as a mark beyond which the Spaniards must not advance, and warned them that if they passed it they would all be killed, for that they had no right to invade the land which belonged to the Indians and had been in their occupation without let or hindrance for many ages. The captain Diego de Rojas, seeing what the Indians did and said, told his companions to be mounted and ready for whatever might happen, as he wanted to speak to the natives, and to explain to them the cause of his coming. After the Chief had made his speech, all the Indians took up their bows and arrows, while Diego de Rojas, moving to where the Chief stood, explained that he and those other Christians were subjects of the Emperor Don Carlos, and that they came from other places where he also was lord. If the Indians would believe in our God, and have the Emperor for their natural lord and king, there would be peace and true friendship between them; if not, war could not be avoided until, forced by necessity, they themselves should pray for peace. Diego de Rojas made them understand this through the interpreters present.

The Chief, and those who had come with him, answered by repeating what they had said before, being astonished

at seeing the horses and their swiftness of foot, and at the appearance of the Spaniards and their being so silent. After spending a short time in contemplating them, the Indians made up their minds to approach Diego de Rojas, and presently, by gathering round him, tried to cut him off. He was by no means off his guard, but, understanding the Indians' cunning, he chided them for what they had done, and told the interpreter to repeat what he said, to the Chief. The Chief replied that his Indians were so ill-behaved that even when he gave an order they would not obey, nor give up doing what they were about. When Diego de Rojas heard this, he put spurs to his horse, and began capering about in all directions. The natives were astounded at seeing the swiftness of the horse and the fury with which it galloped. The Spaniards, when they saw that their captain no longer held discourse with the Indians, pointed their lances, and charged among the Indians, and began to drive them into their naked bodies. When the latter saw that the game was up, they began to run away in great terror. Diego de Rojas ordered the Spaniards to cease the slaughter, because the Chief had been sorry for the impudence of his people. When the Spaniards heard the order, they desisted from wounding those who had fallen, and the Indians also refrained and gave heed by command of their Chief.

CHAPTER XCI

Of what else happened to the captain Diego de Rojas.

ALL the natives of the regions near where the Spaniards were marching were in great terror. They thought that there must be some deity in the invaders and, though they did not number forty, all who even heard their name trem-

bled with fear. They said to each other that the horses understood the Spaniards, and that they were such great and fierce animals that they would kill every one they met. As the Chief of those Indians who had come out on the war path was more alarmed than any one, he sought with a good will to make peace with Diego de Rojas, who granted it, saying that he did not come to make war unless he was forced into it. Taking counsel with the other Spaniards who were with him, he determined to return to Tucumá, as it was not prudent to advance further, they being so few and the natives so numerous. Speaking to those who were present, the captain Diego de Rojas said that he would return to where he had left many Spaniards and horses, so that all might go together to conquer those regions, and place them under the dominion of the king Don Carlos. Having said this, he set out on his return to Tucumá, where they found a large supply of provisions.

In order that the Indians might not think that the Spaniards fled from fear of them, Diego de Rojas resolved to send Francisco de Mendoza with six horsemen to return to Chiquana to make all those come, who had remained. Francisco de Mendoza having departed, Diego de Rojas ran a great risk with only thirty men, the six being taken off. But his watch was so careful, that it was not easy for the Indians to take him unawares. The supplies were so abundant, that they could get plenty without any trouble; there were more hens than in the land of Campos, and very plump ones; also a great quantity of ducks, and not a few guanacos in those provinces. The Indians would have been glad enough to kill the Spaniards, and to clear them out of their provinces, but seeing their enemies so watchful and well prepared they did not venture to make opposition. They agreed to wait and see what would come of the invaders' presence.

The natives of these provinces are well made. They

wear long cloaks of wool from below the arm, a strip from it passing over the shoulder, and the waist belt is arranged so that the private parts do not appear. In warm weather they have very graceful and handsome cloaks of ostrich¹ feathers. The women go naked, with no more than a small apron fastened round the waist, like the *maures* which, as we have written, are worn by the women of Anzerma and Antiochia [*sic*]. They wear their hair very long and well combed; they pride themselves on washing frequently, and use no *bija*² nor any other mixture on their faces. The food of these Indians is maize and the flesh of guanacos and their ewes. They are great sorcerers and the devil is always talking to them. They have no belief, and merely think that they have to live, and must die. When they die, the relatives make burial places in the hills where the bodies are placed, and they stick a tall stout post over the grave, on which is carved a figure of the devil as he was seen by the deceased when, in life, they talked to him. They do not eat human flesh, and detest the sin of sodomy. Their houses are large and round, and the villages not very close together. They have not so much fruit as in other parts. These customs and habits of Indians relate to those who dwell beyond the province of Tucumá, for those nearer³ had been subjugated by the Incas, and many of them wore clothes. The reason why the Incas did not subjugate the natives farther on was that they received glowing reports of the provinces stretching towards Quito and of the vast quantity of gold in them, so they extended their conquests in that direction. To make their dominion secure, in the time of the Inca Yupanqui, who was father of Tupac Inca, and grandfather of Huayna

¹ *Avestruces* in the MS.—but really the *Rhea*.

² *Bixa orellana*—anatto.

³ The MS. is defective here.

Capac, certain *orejones*¹ were sent by his order, not with any great company of people nor with an army, but with articles for barter, in order to learn the disposition of the natives and the character of the country. The greatness of the Incas was so well known, and the fame of their victories had made such an impression, that these *orejones* easily induced the natives to become vassals of the King Inca Yupanqui. The latter agreed that their friendship should be perpetual, but that they should not be required to do more than defend the frontier so that no enemy should invade the Inca's territory on that side; and so this peace was made. In Tucumá they believed the Sun to be God. All hold that things had a beginning and that there was one Creator, to whom they offered sacrifices, but all their beliefs were inspired by the devil because they were deceived by him in their illusions.

CHAPTER XCII

How Felipe Gutiérrez came to join Diego de Rojas; of the arrival of Francisco de Mendoza at Chiquana, and what else happened.

I N preceding chapters we mentioned that the General Felipe Gutiérrez and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia had departed from Cuzco, and had gone, with all speed, to join Diego de Rojas. Francisco de Mendoza had hastened to do what he had been ordered by the captain Diego de Rojas, and in a few days he arrived where the Spaniards had left their camp. There he reported to Pero López de Ayala and the others what had happened, and the hope there was that farther on they would come to a very

¹ *Orejones* was the name given by Spaniards to some wild tribes of the Gran Chaco, because they perforated and stretched the ear lobes.

rich country; also that all these regions are well supplied with provisions, which was no small relief and advantage to those who desired to continue the war and discoveries. As the principal object of Francisco de Mendoza was to meet Felipe Gutiérrez and learn his wishes, he set out with some mounted men to meet him, and, having travelled for several days, he came upon him at a village called *Totaparo*, where he gave him an account of all that had happened. While travelling with him, Mendoza tried to find out the humour in which Gutiérrez came, and the feeling he had towards Diego de Rojas. For so it was that there were not wanting those who said to Felipe Gutiérrez just what had been said to Diego de Rojas, telling him to look out for himself because Diego de Rojas wanted either to kill him or to send him out of the province so that he, Rojas, might have sole command. Notwithstanding these reports and others spread by men prone to mischief, Felipe Gutiérrez, being a sensible and God-fearing man, gave little credit to them. In the presence of all who came with him, he said that he asked them to receive him as their captain until he joined his companion Diego de Rojas, who was a captain well acquainted with Indian warfare, having grown old in such service, both in Nicaragua and in other parts. Having joined him, both they and himself must place themselves under him and regard him as their superior officer. He added that, please God, he would not give any credit to the gossip against Diego de Rojas, which he looked upon as churlish camp rumours.

When Felipe Gutiérrez had said this, Pero López de Ayala took him apart, and told him secretly of the things they had said to Diego de Rojas, and of the evil intentions of some who, without shame or the fear of God, strove to create discord between them by means of those misunderstandings. When Felipe Gutiérrez understood this, he resolved to send other messengers, jointly with Pero López

de Ayala, namely Alonso de Zayas and Pablo de Montemayor, with letters making known his arrival and stating what had happened, declaring that he looked upon Rojas as his leader and true friend, and that he desired to join him as his subordinate; also begging him not to believe the treacherous men who were striving to create enmity between them. He added that those who carried the letters would inform him of anything else he might wish to know. At this time the camp had been moved from Chiquana to Tucumá. The captain Diego de Rojas found himself with such a force that he could overrun the country without difficulty, and compel the barbarians to render obedience to the great Charles our Lord. Having fixed his camp at Tucumá, he set out in various directions, with some mounted men, to explore the province. Zayas and Pero López de Ayala and the others who came by order of Felipe Gutiérrez were in some danger, there being no troops at Chiquana. The Indians yelled in defiance, but at last, by courage and perseverance, they reached Tucumá, and thence proceeded to where Diego de Rojas was waiting, at a village called *Capaya*. His joy was very great when he saw the letters and learnt that Felipe Gutiérrez was coming with good intentions towards him. Moreover, he felt that he would do well to deal circumspectly with his own followers.

CHAPTER XCIII

How the natives of those provinces concealed the provisions, and of the want that, it was believed, would be the consequence; also how Diego de Rojas sent messengers to Felipe Gutiérrez.

WHEN the natives saw that the Christians were settling in the land without any intention of leaving it, but on the contrary had sent for those who remained in Chiquana, they unanimously determined to conceal the

provisions in order that, forced by necessity owing to the hunger they would suffer, they might quit the province. So, all at once and with great promptitude, they worked with such good will that, in a few days, nothing was found but the maize in leaf; for this they could not carry off. The Christians, feeling the want of food, searched for it in all directions, and when Diego de Rojas saw that there was none he took whom he thought necessary with him and, leaving the camp with a sufficient guard, resolved to go out and look for anything they could eat wherever they might find it. First, however, he ordered Pablo de Montemayor to return to Felipe Gutiérrez with all speed, and tell him what straits they were in for food; and that, while he himself was seeking out where the Indians had concealed the supplies, he thought it would be prudent for Gutiérrez to halt until further messengers could be sent him. In order that Montemayor might go in safety, so that the Indians could not do him any harm, they sent to obtain some horsemen from border settlements near the Andes. Diego de Rojas endeavoured with great diligence to find the maize and other catables hidden by the Indians, but failed to meet with anything whatever. The Spaniards who accompanied Felipe Gutiérrez talked freely against the captains, regretting that Diego de Rojas should have come on by that route, knowing it was the intention of all of them to go towards Chile and the river Arauco. They murmured in such a way that Felipe Gutiérrez feared there would be a mutiny. Montemayor having made good speed on the way they met each other in a village called *Irequire*, at the end of the valley of Chiquana, and there he delivered the message from Diego de Rojas. Having seen the letter, Gutiérrez regretted the want of provisions, and reflecting that hunger was a lesser evil than that the soldiers should mutiny or kill him, and, moreover, that they were near the high road leading to Chile, he determined not to

make all the news public, but to push on with all speed to where Diego de Rojas was, and so they set out at once.

When the captain Diego de Rojas could not find any provisions in all those parts, thickly peopled as they were from one end to the other, he received news of another very great province called *Concho*, and his necessity being so great, he resolved to adventure his person and those of his followers in an effort to find something to eat. Having decided to go there, they succeeded in reaching it in a few days. The fame of the horses had so cowed the Indians that they were stricken with terror and were able to offer but little resistance to the Spaniards, who found plenty of maize and other supplies. Farther on they discovered another settlement where there were many ewes and fowls and ducks. Diego de Rojas had come upon such abundance of provisions that he now regretted having sent to detain Felipe Gutiérrez who, notwithstanding that he encountered some difficulty in the march through the forests, was already very near at hand, on learning which Diego de Rojas was exceedingly glad. It was not long before Diego Gutiérrez and the Camp-master Nicolás de Heredia arrived, and they were received by all with great joy, thanks being given to God that they should thus be united without the loss of a man.

CHAPTER XCIV

How, after the captains were united, they determined to go forward; how they suffered much from thirst, inasmuch that many of their servants perished, yet how they went on exploring.

THE captains and all the Spaniards, after having rested for some days from their former hardships, and discussed what might be best for them to do, it seemed good to all that they should pass on and traverse as many provinces as they could ; for, if they could reach the mighty

Rio de la Plata, they would certainly find that its banks were peopled by very rich nations, and they would all soon be very prosperous, and would settle in that land which all who came from Spain were so anxious to see. When they had come to this resolution, they were told by the Indians that fourteen leagues farther on to the west [*sic*] there was a wide tract called *Mocaguaya*,¹ but that there was no water on the way, and no trees but *algarrobos*.² When the captains knew that there would be scarcity of water, in order that the servants who carried the baggage might not fail, they ordered ewes' skins to be prepared and calabashes to be collected for carrying water. They did not take much count of this desert because, if it was only fourteen leagues wide, they could march quickly over it and they would not be much troubled about water. So they struck camp and began the march late in the afternoon, when the sun was sinking to hide its brightness behind the high hills to the westward. They marched with much haste that evening and part of the night, until it was so dark that the guide could not make out the way, nor guess where he was going. So, as they could march no farther, the tents were pitched with the intention of continuing onwards at daylight. Day had scarcely shown signs of dawning when the Spaniards were again on the march. The heat was so intense that it is almost absurd to believe it. They truly affirm that neither the heats of the Libyan deserts, nor of Egypt, nor of the sandy desert of the coast near Piura were greater, for at that time the sun reigned in the south.

As the heat was so great the water they had brought was soon consumed; and the more they drank the more they were harassed by thirst. Many of the servants, who came with the Spaniards, died of the heat and want of water. The

¹ *Macagay* in the Argentine province of Santiago del Estero.

² Algarrobo (*Prosopis alba*, or perhaps *ruscifolia*, Gr.).

horses were very tired. The Spaniards, seeing the pass to which they had come, and knowing that if all the servants died the expedition must be a failure, some of those who had horses pushed on with what speed they could to bring water in the calabashes and skins and succour the foot soldiers and native servants, and enable them to advance. With no little trouble, the horses being much fatigued, they returned with the vessels full of water, and thus saved many lives. They passed the night as best they could. As the dawn approached our Lord God, who at such times reveals his marvels, ordained that the clouds, by the thunder that rolled amongst them, should show signs of approaching rain; and the people, cheered by the sound, threw themselves down with their backs on the ground, open mouthed, that the drops might fall into them should the rain come. It was not long before a heavy shower came down and Spaniards and Indians made big pits to receive it. Soon the pits were full, and the people were able to drink at their pleasure. The barbarians of the province whither they were going, when they heard of the coming of the Spaniards, deserted the country, from the fear in which they held them; and when the Spaniards arrived there no Indians were to be found. Whilst they were looking about to see which direction they could have gone off in they came upon some spies and scouts who had been left behind [by the Indians] to carry word of the Spaniards' arrival. These fellows wounded two horses with their arrows and then made off to give notice to the Indians and inform them how few in number the Christians were. When the Indians heard this, many of them readily assembled to make war, and while the native servants and some friendly Indians were gathering herbage for the horses, the enemy came in a troupe of as many as six hundred Indians, and killed some of them. The alarm being given, the Spaniards came out on their horses and joined in the fight. Notwithstanding that a few of these

were wounded, more than two hundred natives were slain on the field and many more were wounded, so with no little outcry they turned their backs in terror, astonished at the valour of the Spaniards, and unable to believe but that their enemies had some deity among them. The captains regained the village where they had encamped.

CHAPTER XCV

How the bachelor, Juan Vélez de Guevara, arrived at Lima, where the municipality would not receive him; and of the departure of the accountant Juan de Cáceres for Panamá.

THE reader will remember how, in previous chapters, we related that when Vaca de Castro heard of the arrival of Gonzalo Pizarro in Lima, and of how things were freely talked about between him and his followers, in a way that could not be overlooked, the Governor despatched the captain Juan Vélez de Guevara to that city (who had been in the battle at Chupas) to act there as his Lieutenant, and to remedy what had been said. Having quitted Cuzco the bachelor Juan Vélez arrived at Lima after Gonzalo Pizarro had already left that city. He presented to the municipality the commission he brought from the Governor Vaca de Castro by which the latter appointed him his deputy, and Captain over the city. The treasurer Alonso Riquelme, the accountant Juan de Cáceres, the factor Illán Suárez, and the councillors who were present, valuing highly the credit of their city, complained openly of Vaca de Castro in that, having amongst themselves persons of high quality who were known to be anxious for the King's service, he should send a stranger to be over them; and they agreed among themselves not to receive him. On this subject there were discussions in the Municipal

Chambèr, and things came to such a pass that the bachelor was expelled from office and turned out of the Council. As he refused to submit to their ruling they laid hands upon him, with the approval of the Municipality, and broke the verge of office which he had brought. Thus insulted Guevara quitted the scene; but, as the councillors knew that Vaca de Castro was irascible and vindictive, they began to fear that some harm might come to them on account of what they had done. The accountant, Juan de Cáceres, not daring to remain until Vaca de Castro should arrive, departed in a ship for Tierra Firme. The other councillors and officers remained in great fear lest some evil should befall them, for having declined to receive Guevara. We will now resume the narrative about Felipe Gutiérrez and his companions.

CHAPTER XCVI

How the Indians who escaped from the hands of the Spaniards returned to take counsel, and resolved, with much boldness, to go forth again and fight them, and of the death of Diego de Rojas.

I N a former chapter we related how the Indians of a village where the captains Diego de Rojas and Felipe Gutiérrez were encamped, had come and fought with them; and that although more than two hundred were killed, and as many more wounded, yet they sent messages to all the districts announcing how few the Spaniards were, and ordering the natives to assemble and to attack them vigorously, as it would be easy to kill them all and their horses. The Indians were told to anoint the points of their arrows with a very poisonous herb they have, for it was known by experience that no one who was wounded by it ever escaped death, and that for the liberty of their country and that they

might not be under greater subjection than their forefathers, they ought not to fly from death if it should face them. Moreover, should any of them be captured by the Spaniards, they were on no account to reveal the antidote [to the arrow poison], for if that secret were made known neither they nor any number of people who might join them could prevail against the valour of the Spaniards or the fierceness of the horses. As all desired to see the foreigners who had invaded their provinces driven out again they assembled as large a force as they could and after they had offered their accustomed sacrifices and invoked the devil to their aid, marched in the direction where the Spaniards were encamped.

Diego de Rojas and the other captains had decided to stay there a few days, until they could receive information about the country ahead of them. When the Indians approached them, the Spaniards saddled their horses and rode towards them to give battle. As it is our Lord God's will and pleasure that those unknown countries, so distant from Spain, shall be opened up and His glorious standard of the Cross be known there, He almost miraculously protects the Christians; that they may find a way before them until they reach the extremity of the land, where there is little left before seeing the sun complete its course around the world. So it was that, though these Indians came armed with arrows tipped with the poison we have mentioned, God watched over His Christians. But no special favour was needful on that day, as a single volley sufficed for the Indians' dispersal, and after a number of them had fallen the conflict ceased. Diego de Rojas then sent Pedro López de Ayala with forty horsemen to explore the country ahead. The Indians, undismayed by their losses, fought on continuously during the next two days, and Diego de Rojas doing his duty as a famous captain in the midst of the fray, was wounded in the leg by an arrow. After having

chased and overtaken the Indians who had wounded him, they retired to the camp. Diego de Rojas thought little of his wound, as it was so small. But, since the herb was so poisonous, it began to work. Diego de Rojas felt ill, and there being a woman in the camp, who served Felipe Gutiérrez, she came to nurse him. After she had given him certain things to eat, Diego de Rojas became worse, and some of his servants said that he had been poisoned by order of Felipe Gutiérrez. Believing this to be true Diego de Rojas drank a great quantity of oil.

The captain Felipe Gutiérrez, when informed of this suspicion, declared his innocence. He assured Diego de Rojas, and all who might disbelieve him, that he never had any such evil thought, and that no one would regret the loss of his companion so much as himself. When the poison arrived near the heart, Diego de Rojas, seeing himself so near death, requested Felipe Gutiérrez to appoint in his place Francisco de Mendoza, whom he loved as if he were his son. Felipe Gutiérrez answered that although, under the authority they held from Vaca de Castro, this could not be done, the command should, after Rojas' death, remain vested in the two, and that he was delighted to please him.

After this, Diego de Rojas died during a violent fit of retching. He was a native of the city of Burgos: a valiant man, liberal, anxious always to do what was right. In war he was always cautious, at all times watching and patrolling like any other soldier. It is believed that if he had lived these regions would have been completely explored. His death was due to the poison in the herb, for which a plant of such virtue as an antidote was afterwards discovered, that the poison lost its strength, and the wounded were cured by means of it.

CHAPTER XCVII

How Pero López de Ayala discovered the river Soconcho, found a well-peopled region, and returned to where the general Felipe Gutiérrez was, and how they all set out for that region.

BEFORE the death of the captain Diego de Rojas, Pero López de Ayala had started out with a few mounted Spaniards to explore to the eastward; passing without meeting with any resistance over wide arid wastes and dense *algarrobo* forests, peopled by other Indians, who showed no inclination to attack them. At length they reached the banks of the river called *Soconcho*,¹ and found large villages on both sides. Reflecting that it would not be prudent to advance farther with so small a force, they returned to report to their leaders. When Felipe Gutiérrez heard what they had seen and discovered, he resolved to move his camp as far as the province of *Tesuma*, a distance of six leagues. He first sent Francisco de Mendoza to fetch certain Spaniards who had remained in Tucumá. In this service Mendoza heard much yelling and had some skirmishes with the Indians.

When they arrived in that province they found abundance of necessary things. The natives had retired, not daring to offer battle to the Christians. They now knew clearly that they were in the country of the poisonous herb, and that Diego de Rojas had been killed by it, and not by connivance of Felipe Gutiérrez as had been thought. After all were united the general Felipe Gutiérrez complained, saying that consent could not be given for Francisco de

¹ The river Salado, which watered the province of Socotonio, first evangelized by St. Francis Solano late in the sixteenth century. They were by this time on the south-western fringe of the Gran Chaco.

Mendoza to take over the post which had been filled by Diego de Rojas, nor could he suffer him to do so; and thus there began to be enmity between them, Felipe Gutiérrez wishing Francisco de Mendoza to remain subordinate to him like the rest, while Mendoza, knowing that he could not prevent this, had, by making use of the effects of Diego de Rojas, gained friends who gave him to understand that they would not see him deprived of the post he then held, and over this they would all stake their lives. When Felipe Gutiérrez wanted to carry his intention into effect, some of those in the league formed by Mendoza admonished him to desist from a measure that must cause scandal and bloodshed, and be followed by no advantage, but engender great evil. And mediators thereupon intervening between them they made friends, and Mendoza retained his appointment as before. But although this was then arranged, the suspicion that each felt of the other was not removed.

CHAPTER XCVIII

How the General, Felipe Gutiérrez, pursued his exploration down the river of Soconcho, and what else happened.

AFTER the private negotiations between the captains which we have recounted had been settled, Felipe Gutiérrez, with the concurrence of the rest, went on exploring down the *Soconcho* river towards the west.¹ This river is not very large, but there are extensive native villages near it; so that those who saw them were of opinion that some new settlements of Spaniards might be formed there, whose members could derive large *repartimientos* and other advantages. The civil wars there have been in the Realm

East? Its general direction thereabouts is S.S.E.

hindered what now, with the help of our Lord, will be achieved; but let the leaders who may contemplate expeditions in this direction go well provided with horses and defensive armour of cotton; for other kinds do not avail. Proceeding down the river with their exploration, Gutiérrez and his party came to a populous district. The natives have the same dresses and customs as those first met with; but they have different kinds of religion among themselves, and they speak many tongues. They are a people under no description of rule, and so entirely without organization that they appear like brutes. †

They came out to the Christians with a great yelling, astonished at seeing them on horses, and took them for immortals, some of them thinking that horse and man were one animal. Diego Maldonado had been left with the baggage, and Felipe Gutiérrez waited at a place that seemed to secure the best supply of food. Felipe Gutiérrez felt sore that Francisco de Mendoza should occupy the position he held, and sought to deprive him of it. He sent to him to claim the stores and provisions which had been collected when Diego de Rojas died. Francisco de Mendoza would not give them up. On the contrary, he assembled his friends, and asked them whether they would be faithful to him, and not allow him to be deprived of his present post by Felipe Gutiérrez. They replied that he need have no fear of Felipe Gutiérrez, for that they would be such true friends that it would not be possible to deprive him of the position. It was reported to Felipe Gutiérrez that Francisco de Mendoza always went about closely attended by some of those in camp; but he did not dare to arrest Mendoza, and for the time being dropped the subject. He decided to advance to a large village also called *Soconcho*,¹

¹ The village Soconcho is shown on the Abbé Jolís' map, in his *Historia del Chaco* (1789), on the east bank of the Río Dulce, or Saladillo, in lat. 28° 40' S. Its true latitude is 28° 55'.

like the river. Leaving Sotomayor on guard at the camp, he set out from thence, taking Francisco de Mendoza with him; and here we will leave them awhile.

CHAPTER XCIX

How, when the news of the Marquis Pizarro's death reached Spain, it was ordered that a Viceroy and an Audiencia should be appointed; and of the conference over the Ordinances which were issued for the government of the new empire of the Indies.

WHEN the Marquis was murdered in Lima by the Almagro party the news came with extraordinary celerity to the ships which were about to sail for Spain, and the Emperor Charles V received it at . . .¹ He held that it was an evil service to him, on hearing that the Marquis had been murdered with such cruelty and violence, considering the great services he had rendered to his Majesty and the rich provinces he had added to the Realm. His Majesty wished that the Marquis could have enjoyed some repose in his old age, and that he had not died so ignobly. At the same time, his Majesty had felt that he had also been ill-served by the death inflicted by the Marquis's brother on the Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro in a former year. Taking counsel with his grandson, and with others who attended him for that purpose, and seeing how remote those kingdoms were from Spain, that in the time of the governors there had been great outrages and robberies, and that cruel deaths had been inflicted on not a few lords and principal people, it was resolved that they should be so justly ruled that God our Lord and the Royal Crown should not suffer displeasure. His Majesty therefore de-

¹ Blank in the original MS.

cided to send out learned men as judges to form a Court of Justice or *Audiencia*, and also a Royal Chancellery, in order that causes might be determined and that in all things there might be right decisions so needful in such a free country where all men are prone to commit evil. In order that justice might have greater force, it was also resolved that there should be a Viceroy, whose duty it would be to see that the natives were well treated by the Spaniards. The councillors then considered at several sittings whom should be entrusted with so important a service. His Majesty had been informed by many people, and from various directions, of the great oppression the Indians suffered from the Spaniards, and how the latter, in order to extort gold from them, had burned them and thrown them to the dogs; also how they seized the natives' wives and daughters for their own uses, and committed other atrocities. Above all, there was very great remissness about their conversion; no one caring for the souls of the poor natives. As a Christian prince, fearing God, the Emperor was very anxious to find a remedy for these great evils. He felt that, as universal pastor, he was responsible to God. Nevertheless, his Majesty's repeated absences from Spain, so important for the worship of God and for his own service, had interfered with the mature consideration of what should be done to avoid these great evils, and of what laws ought to be made for the protection of the Indians.

At this time the reverend Friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who was afterwards Bishop of Chiapa, arrived in Spain, by whom it was asserted that the Spaniards were treating the natives in the manner we have mentioned, and it was even hinted that their behaviour was worse still. His Majesty ordered the assembly of grandees and prelates, jointly with men learned in the law who were members of his distinguished and puissant Council, to determine what

should be provided for the good government of the new realm or empire of the Indies. They met many times in the presence of the King, some arguing, others thinking; and their deliberations resulted in the New Laws, which for this, and not for what the people in Peru supposed, were enacted; so that we can, in each one of them, see points which demonstrate the feeling and the reason for their adoption. As these Ordinances were very famous, and as Gonzalo Pizarro stood in Peru in opposition to them, thereby giving rise to great battles and many wars, we will insert them in this place word for word, taken from the originals.

I know from my experience gathered during a long residence in the Indies that there were great cruelties and much injury done to the natives, such as cannot be lightly stated. All know how populous the island of Española was, and that if the Christians had treated the natives decently and as friends there would certainly be many there now. Yet there remains no other testimony of the country having once been peopled than the great cemeteries of the dead, and the ruins of the places where they lived. In Tierra Firme and Nicaragua also not an Indian is left. They asked Belalcázar how many he found between Quito and Cartago, and they desired to know from me how many now remain. Well, there are none. In a town which had a population of ten thousand Indians there was not one. When we came from Cartagena with Vadillo I saw a Portuguese, named Roque Martín, who had quarters of Indians hanging on a perch to feed his dogs with, as if they were those of wild beasts. In the new Realm of Granada and in Popayán they did things so ruthless that I would rather not mention them. In fine, as nothing is concealed from princes, his Majesty became fully informed, and as soon as he was able to spare time from the affairs of the empire, he gave his attention to these matters.

We must also say that not all those who had estates in the Indies were so bad as to commit such great sins. On the contrary, there were many who deplored and strongly denounced such acts. There were men who had passed through great hardships, misery, and hunger such as cannot be briefly described; many had lost their lives in the exploration and subjugation of the Indies, leaving wives and children behind them. These resented their fathers' Indians being placed under the direct authority of the King, and the *encomienda* they held being taken from them, as it had been granted for certain lives. But this was not sufficient excuse for taking up arms, for his Majesty would have listened to the petitions of those who humbly approached him.

The laws having been made and ordained, they were proclaimed with the sound of a trumpet in the city of Seville, and are as follows:—

NEW LAWS

DON CARLOS by the divine clemency Emperor always august, King of *Germany*; Doña Juana his mother, and Don Carlos himself, by the grace of God, King of *Castille*, of *Leon*, of *Arragon*, of the two *Sicilies*, of *Jerusalem*, of *Navarre*, of *Granada*, of *Toledo*, of *Valencia*, of *Galicia*, of *Majorca*, of *Sevilla*, of *Sardinia*, of *Cordova*, of *Corsica*, of *Murcia*, of *Jaen*, of the *Algarves*, of *Algeciras*, of *Gibraltar*, of the *Canary Isles*, of the *Indies*, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, Counts of *Barcelona*, Lords of *Biscay* and of *Molina*, Dukes of *Athens* and *Neopatria*, Counts of *Roussillon* and of *Cerdania*, Marquises of *Oristan* and of *Gociano*, Archdukes of *Austria*, Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brabant*, Counts of *Flanders* and the *Tyrol*—to the most illustrious Prince Philip our very dear and beloved grand-

son and son,¹ to the Infantes our grandsons and sons, to the President of our Council of the Indies, to our Viceroy, Presidents and Judges of our *Audiencias*, and Royal Chancelleries of our said Indies, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, and our Governors, Chief Alcaldes and other Magistrates thereof, and to all our Councils, Justices, Aldermen, Knights, Squires, officials and citizens of all our cities, towns, and settlements in our said Indies, islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea, discovered and to be discovered, and to all other persons, captains, explorers or settlers, inhabitants or natives of whatever estate, quality, condition or position they may be, as well those who are already there as those who may come hereafter, to each one and to all of you in your offices and jurisdictions, to whom this our letter may be shown, or a copy of it signed by a public notary, or who may become acquainted with a part of it or its contents or anything which pertains or may pertain to any part of it in any way whatsoever: to you all health and greeting.

Know ye that for many years we have had the wish and determination to occupy ourselves with the affairs of the Indies, by reason of their great importance both in matters appertaining to the service of God our Lord and the increase of our holy catholic faith as well as in those relating to the welfare of the natives of those parts, their good government and the preservation of their persons. Although we have endeavoured to attend to these affairs, this has not been possible, owing to the numerous and constant distractions which have arisen and which we could not neglect, and to the absence from these Realms which I the King have been obliged to incur for reasons which are notorious to all. Inasmuch as these constant occupations have not ceased even in the present year, we have ordered

¹ That is, his mother Juana's grandson, his Majesty's own son.

persons of all estates, prelates as well as knights, and clerics, and some members of our Council to study and consider matters of the highest importance respecting which we have received information, in order that a decision may be reached. The subject was maturely argued and discussed, and several times considered and debated in my presence. Finally, having consulted the opinions of all, I have resolved to command, decree, and ordain the things now herein contained, which, besides the other ordinances and provisions which from time to time we have ordered to be enacted, we command to be observed inviolably as laws from henceforward.

I. Firstly, We order and command that the members of our Council of the Indies who reside at our Court and meet every morning for three hours and in the afternoon for such time as is necessary, as business may arise, shall in future attend in the same way as hitherto. And as in the said Council there are a number of Judges, we order and command that in the cases in which they all sit, which are the suits of five hundred *pesos de oro* and upwards, three votes in agreement may pronounce a decision, and when the other votes differ among themselves, the three can and shall determine the case. And for the quicker settlement of cases not exceeding the said five hundred *pesos* two members of the Council may hear and, if in agreement, settle them.

II. As We have directed certain new rules to be drawn for our *Audiencias* of New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and the island of Española, touching the order and procedure they should adopt in considering and determining suits which may come before them, and in the conduct of other things concerning the good government and conservation of those parts and the natives of them, and that the members of our said Council may keep more exactly in mind what powers and duties are allotted to the *Audiencias*

and not recognize nor adjudicate upon anything extraneous thereto, I have directed the said rules to be incorporated here, and we order our said President and members of our Council of the Indies to keep to and comply with what they contain, and neither adjudicate upon nor recognize anything contrary to their tenour and object.

III. We disallow and expressly forbid any servant or retainer of the President or members of our said Council, any Secretary, Public Prosecutor or Reporter to be an attorney or suitor in any business of the Indies, on pain of banishment from the Realm for a term of ten years, and we order every member of the Council above named who may know of it, to punish and prevent such things, as tending to our disservice.

IV. We order and command that it shall be the duty of those of our said Council of the Indies to keep all the laws and ordinances of our kingdoms, and especially those made by our Royal Council and the Judges of our *Audiencias* and the other Judges of our said kingdoms, with reference to purity as regards the receiving any gifts, payment, or loans from litigants and other persons having or expecting to have business before them, nor shall they write any letters of recommendation to the Indies on pain of punishments enacted in the said laws and ordinances.

V. In order that the President and members of our Council of the Indies may be free to devote themselves to the affairs of the government of those parts we decree and command that they shall abstain, as far as possible, from dealing with any private business, for it is with that aim that we have arranged and ordered all that touches the said *Audiencias* and the affairs with which they have to deal. And though the reviewing of *residencias* is a matter that it seems might properly be conducted by the Council, yet, in order that its work of governing may be the more efficient, and that the Council may devote greater attention

to public affairs and meet with less interference from other business—taking into account, too, the great distance to be traversed in reaching those Realms—we order that there shall be brought before our said Council of the Indies only those *residencias* and inquiries that may be held in respect of the Judges and officials of the *Audiencias*, and of our Governors throughout the Indies, and we allow and direct all the others to be heard, adjudged, and determined by the said *Audiencias*, each one in its own district and jurisdiction. As our principal intention and will has always been to preserve and augment the numbers of the Indians, and that they may be instructed and taught the articles of our holy catholic faith, and be well treated as free men and our subjects, as in fact they are, we charge and command our said Council always to give great attention and special care to the conservancy, good government, and good treatment of the said Indians, and to ascertain how our Ordinances are complied with and executed, especially those We have issued and shall issue for the good government of our Indies, and the administration of justice in them, and to see that these are observed, complied with, and put into execution without any remission, fault or neglect.

VI. We charge and order those of our said Council of the Indies to sometimes think over and discuss and learn in what ways we may be justly served and derive advantage in the affairs of the Indies. As observance and compliance with what is enacted or may hereafter be enacted for the good government and welfare of the Indies is of great importance to our service and to the discharge of our conscience, we order our *Procurador Fiscal*,¹ who is or may hereafter be a Member of our Council, always to take great care and be very vigilant in inquiring and learning

how the laws are being observed and complied with in those parts, and to report the same in our said Council, taking steps against those who do not comply, so as to enforce obedience to what is enacted, and he is to give us notice when this is not done.

VII. We order and command that, in the provinces and Realms of Peru, there shall reside a Viceroy and a Royal *Audiencia* consisting of four learned Judges, the said Viceroy presiding over the said *Audiencia*, which shall be established in the city of The Kings, that being the most convenient position, for henceforward there will be no *Audiencia* in Panamá.

We order that a Royal *Audiencia* shall be established on the confines of Guatemala and Nicaragua, consisting of four learned Judges, one of them being President, as may be appointed by Us, and at present we order that the President shall be the Licentiate Maldonado (who is a judge in the *Audiencia* at Mexico), and that this *Audiencia* shall have charge of the government of the said provinces, and their dependencies, in which provinces there will not be Governors, unless We should otherwise order, and these *Audiencias*, like those established in Santo Domingo, are to observe the following rules:—

Firstly, we will, decree, and command that all the criminal cases of whatever quality or importance which are pending, and that may arise hereafter before any of the four Royal *Audiencias*¹ of the Indies, may be considered, adjudged upon, and decided by our said *Audiencias*, by trial and revision, and the judgments thus given shall be executed and carried into due effect without any further appeal, petition, recourse, or other remedy whatsoever.

In order to avoid the delay which would occur and the great injury, charges, and expense to the litigants, which

would ensue should they come to our Council of the Indies following on any suit or civil action on which appeal was made from our said *Audiencias*, and in order that justice may be done more quickly and with less loss, we enact and command that in all civil suits which may be brought and which are brought, and are under the consideration of our said *Audiencias* and our said Presidents and Judges who have been or may be appointed, these same shall try them and pass judgment and decide them by trial and revision; and the judgment given on revision may be carried out without there being any further step by appeal, petition, or any other recourse whatever, unless the suit be of such nature and importance that the value of the property in question be ten thousand *pesos de oro* or upwards, in which case we will that they may appeal a second time before our Royal Presence, provided the suitor making the said second appeal do present it before us within one year from the time that the revised judgment is notified to him or to his Attorney.

But we will and command that, notwithstanding the said second appeal, the judgment which the Judges of our said *Audiencias* shall have given on revision be carried out, the suitor, in whose favour it is given, first of all furnishing sufficient security and proof that, if the said judgment be revoked, he will restore and pay whatever he shall have been and will be awarded and granted by that [judgment], according to the decision which shall be given by the persons to whom the matter was by us intrusted. However, if the judgment on revision given in our said *Audiencias* should be on a question of real estate, we declare and command that the second appeal shall not lie, but that the said revised judgment, notwithstanding it be not in accord with the judgment on [first] trial, shall be carried out.

We decree and command that the Judges to whom we

may commit such a suit on second appeal, do examine and decide the suit by the same procedure as would have been followed in our said *Audiencia*, without admitting new evidence or new charges, in conformity with the laws of our kingdoms touching a second appeal.

And in order that our said *Audiencias* may possess the necessary authority, and that what is decreed and ordained by them may be better obeyed and executed, we will and command that the letters, writs and other instruments decreed by them, be issued and delivered in our name and under our royal seal; and let the same be obeyed and complied with like our own letters and writs signed with our Royal Name.

As in each of our said *Audiencias* there are to be four Judges, we decree that all four shall sit in suits for five hundred *pesos de oro* and upwards, and for the settlement of such a suit three votes must be in agreement; but if the suit be for less than five hundred *pesos*, we decree that two votes in complete agreement shall suffice, the other two votes differing from one another. Up to the said sum of five hundred *pesos*, in order to expedite business, two of our said Judges may try, hear, and give judgment if they are in agreement.

Moreover, we decree that in whatever is not here stated or directed our said Presidents and Judges of our said *Audiencias* shall be obliged to observe, and let them observe, the ordinances issued to them by Us and the Rules of Court made for our *Audiencias* established at the City of Grenada and the Town of Valladolid, and the several benches of *Corregidores* and Judges of *Residencia*, and the laws of these our kingdoms and the commentaries and procedure relating to them.

Moreover, we decree that the appeals which are referred from Governors, where there is no Royal *Audiencia*, shall go before the *Audiencia* of that district and jurisdic-

tion, and in such cases we decree that the laws of these kingdoms which do not permit of a second appeal be observed.

' X. We decree and order that our said Presidents and Judges be empowered to send and do send to take *residencias* of our Governors who are subject to our said *Audiencias*, and of their Officials and our other Magistrates, how and when it may seem to them proper, according to the suits that may arise. For this purpose they shall send trustworthy and prudent persons who know how to conduct them and do justice to those who have made complaints against them [these officials]—in conformity with the laws of our kingdoms and the rules for *Corregidores*. The reports of *residencias* which may be taken as aforesaid of our Governors of Islands and Provinces are to be sent with all despatch to our Council of the Indies that they may be considered and decided by it. But all other *residencias* which may be taken of our other Magistrates, we will and command that they be examined and adjudged upon, by our Presidents and Judges of our said *Audiencias* and be not sent or brought to our said Council; it is not to be understood from this that the members of our Council may not send and take the *residencia* of the said Governors when it may appear to be necessary.

As one of the principal things in which the said *Audiencias* are to serve us is to take very special care about the good treatment and preservation of the Indians, we command that they shall always keep themselves informed of excesses or bad treatment which are or may be committed by Governors or by private persons, and of how these have observed the Ordinances and instructions that have been given them, which have been made to ensure the good treatment of the Indians; and in so far as such excesses have been or may in future be committed, let the said [*Audiencias*] take care to remedy it, by punishing the

offenders with rigour in conformity with justice; and in suits between Indians or against Indians, let them not permit ordinary procedure to be followed, nor allow the hearing to be protracted, as sometimes happens through the jobbery of some advocates and attorneys, but let them be settled summarily, allowing weight to their usages and customs, if they be not clearly unjust; and let the said *Audiencias* take care that this is observed by the other lesser Judges.

XI. We decree and command that from now onward, neither because of war, even though under the category of rebellion, nor by barter, nor for any other cause in any other way, may any Indian be made a slave; and we wish them to be treated as our subjects of the Crown of Spain, for that they are.

No persons may make the Indians serve by way of "naboria" or "tapia,"¹ nor in any other way against their wills.

As we have decreed a provision that from now henceforward no Indians shall be made slaves, both with regard to those who up to this time have been made so against justice and right, and against enactments and instructions issued, we direct and command that the *Audiencias* summoning the parties shall summarily and briefly, merely ascertaining the truth, without legal quibble, place the enslaved at liberty, unless the persons holding them as slaves can show a title that they hold and own them legally. And in order that Indians should not be held unjustly as slaves for lack of persons to urge the aforesaid, we command the *Audiencias* to appoint persons to manage such suits on behalf of the Indians, and to remunerate them from fines of the Court; and let them be men of integrity and diligence.

XII. We order that, for the protection of the Indians,

the *Audiencias* are to take special care that these do not carry loads; or, if in some parts it cannot be avoided, that it be done in such a way that the load be not so heavy as to endanger the life, health or preservation of the said Indians, nor be done against their wills, nor unless they are paid. In no circumstances is such work to be forced on them; let those who act otherwise be very severely punished. In this no exception is to be made for any person whatever.

As we have been informed that the pearl fishery has not been conducted with the good order that is desirable, and that it has resulted in the deaths of many Indians and Negroes, we order that no free Indian shall be taken to the said fishery against his will, under pain of death; and let the Bishop and the Judge who may go to Venezuela direct what may appear to them just in order that the slaves employed in the same fishery—Indians as well as Negroes—be protected, and deaths cease. And if it should appear to them that the risk of death cannot be avoided by the said Indians and Negroes, then let the pearl fishery cease; for, as is reasonable, we value much more highly the preservation of lives than the profit which may come to us from the pearls.

As the viceroys, governors and their lieutenants, and our officers, prelates, monasteries, hospitals, religious houses, mints, as well as officers of our revenue, and other persons favoured as officials hold Indians in *encomienda*, and as disorders have arisen in the treatment of those Indians, it is our will and we command that all the Indians they hold and possess shall be promptly placed under [the protection of] our Royal Crown, by whatever title they may have been held by those who are or were viceroys, governors or their lieutenants, or any of our officials of justice, of revenue, of hospitals, confraternities, and other similar bodies. Although the Indians may not have been placed in *encomienda* by virtue of the said offices, and though the

said officials and governors should say they would rather resign their official positions and keep the Indians, they are not thereby excused from compliance.

We further order that all persons who hold Indians without having a title, but have possessed themselves of them on their own authority, are to give them up and place them under our Royal Crown. As we are informed that other persons, though they hold a title, have been given *repartimientos* in excessive quantity, we order our *Audiencias*, each one within its own jurisdiction, to inform themselves fully about this and with all possible despatch, and to reduce the *repartimientos* of such persons to fair and moderate proportions, the rest being promptly brought under our Royal Crown, in spite of any petition and appeal that such persons may make. The *Audiencias* are to send an early account of what they have done that we may know how our commands have been obeyed. In New Spain let especial adjustment be made of the Indians held by Juan Infante, Diego de Ordás, the Master Roa, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Francisco Maldonado, Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia, Juan Xaramillo, Martín Vázquez, Gil González de Benavides,¹

¹ *Juan Infante*. No notice seems to be preserved of this *encomendero*.

Diego de Ordás. Was a native of Campos de Valverde or Castro Verde. He was chief *Mayordomo* to Diego de Velásquez, governor of Cuba, and was sent by him to arrest Cortés at Trinidad, in the Island of Cuba, when he had already started on the expedition to Mexico. Instead of arresting Cortés, D. de Ordás joined his company and was made Captain of one of the ships of the expedition, and became one of the principal leaders. He was the first Spaniard to ascend Popocatepetl. After the fall of Mexico he was sent by Cortés on a mission to Spain, when he was made a *Comendador* of the order of Santiago, had the grant of Indians which had been made to him in Mexico confirmed by the Emperor, and was given a smoking mountain (Popocatepetl) as his coat of arms. He then went back to Mexico, and two or three years later returned to Castile, and petitioned for leave to conquer the Marañón region, where he lost his life. He was about forty years old when he left Cuba for Mexico.

Maestro Roa. When describing the festivities in Mexico to celebrate the peace made by Francis I and the Emperor at Aguas Muertas,

and other persons of whom it is said that they hold a very excessive number of Indians, according to information which has been given us. As we have also been informed that there

Bernal Díaz says (ch. cci): "After this, on the following morning, half this same *Plaza* had been turned into the City of Rhodes with its towers . . . and of the hundred knights commanders . . . the Marquis Cortés was their commander and the Grand Master of Rhodes. . . .

"I want to add an amusing story concerning a settler in Mexico called the Master of Rhodes (*Maestro de Roda*) already an old man, who had a great wen on his neck. He had the name of Master of Rhodes because they called him purposely Master of Rhodes, and it was he for whom the Marquis had sent to Castile to heal his right arm, which he had broken in a fall from a horse after his return from Honduras, and he paid him very well for coming to cure his arm, and gave him some *pueblos* of Indians.

"When the festivals which I have mentioned were over, as this Master of Rhodes was one of the chroniclers [of the festivities], and was a good talker, he went to Castile at that time, and became so well acquainted with the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, the wife of the *Comendador Mayor*, one Francisco de los Cobos, that he bewitched her, and promised to give her drugs so that she should bear a child, and he said this in such a way that she believed him, and the Señora Doña Maria promised him that if she bore a child she would give him two thousand ducats, and would support him before the Royal Council of the Indies in obtaining further *pueblos* of Indians. This same Master of Rhodes also promised Cardinal de Cigüenza, who was President of the Council of the Indies, that he would cure him of the gout, and the President believed him, and they allotted him, on the order of the Cardinal and through the support of the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, very good Indians, better than those he owned. What he did in the matter of cures was to heal neither the Marquis's arm (if anything he left him more crippled, although he paid him very well and gave him the Indians I have mentioned), nor did the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza ever bear a child, for all the hot sweetmeats of sarsaparilla which he ordered her to take, nor did he cure the Cardinal of the gout; but he kept the bars of gold which Cortés gave him, and the Indians which the Royal Council of the Indies bestowed upon him in New Spain.

"He left behind him in Castile among the traders who had gone to law [about Indians] a joke, to the effect that a little sarsaparilla which the Master of Rhodes had brought with him was worth more than all the services the true *conquistadores* had rendered to his Majesty, for owing to this name, which had been given him of Master of Rhodes, and through being a good talker, he had deceived both the President and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, while other *conquistadores*, however much they had served his Majesty, got no benefits at all." [Hakluyt Society, Series II, vol. 40, pp. 191, 197-8.]

Francisco Vázquez Coronado. I do not think he was an original *conquistador*; he probably arrived later in Mexico. He was an intimate friend of Antonio de Mendoza the first Viceroy of Mexico. He married the daughter of Alonso de Estrada, the Treasurer of Mexico.

are some persons in New Spain who were among the first *conquistadores*, and yet have no *repartimiento* of Indians, we order that the President and Judges of the said New Spain

He was appointed Governor of the State of Jalisco, and left his government to undertake the conquest of Cibola—"the seven cities."

Bernal Díaz says of him: "Francisco Vázquez had been lately married to a lady who was a daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada, and, in addition to being talented, was very beautiful; and as he went to those cities of Cibola he had a great desire to return to New Spain to his wife. Some of the soldiers who were in his company said that he wished to copy the Greek Captain Ulysses, who when he was before Troy was crazy to go and enjoy his wife Penelope, so did Francisco Vázquez Coronado, who left the Conquest he had undertaken. He was attacked by incipient madness and returned to Mexico to his wife, and as they reproached him for having returned in that way, he died within a few days."

Later on Bernal Díaz says: "Nor will I call to mind the expedition which Francisco Vázquez Coronado made from Mexico to the cities which they call Cibola, for as I did not go with him I have no right to speak of it."

Francisco Maldonado. Must have been one of the original *conquistadores* as he signed the first letter of the Army of Cortés to the Emperor. However, there were five men of the name of Maldonado mentioned by Bernal Díaz. Two of them may be ruled out as their names, Alonzo and Alvaro, are given—a third, a native of Medellín, returned to Cuba, invalided. Francisco Maldonado was therefore probably either "Maldonado 'el ancho,' a native of Salamanca and a distinguished person who had been in command of expeditions, who died a natural death," or "Maldonado of Vera Cruz, who was the husband of Doña Maria de Rincon."

Bernaldino Vázquez de Tapia. An original *conquistador*, as he signed the first letter to the Emperor. He is mentioned as chosen to accompany Pedro de Alvarado on an embassy to Montezuma, when Cortés was at Tlaxcala—but he fell ill on the road and the embassy was recalled. When the first Royal *Audiencia* of Mexico was dismissed and many disputes arose, Bernaldino Vázquez was chosen by the *conquistadores* as Proctor to go to Spain and represent the interests of Cortés. Bernal Díaz says of him, "a very distinguished and rich man, who died a natural death."

Juan Jaramillo. Was captain of a launch during the siege of Mexico. He accompanied Cortés on the expedition to Honduras, and on the way, at Orizaba, he was married to Doña Marina the mistress of Cortés. He died a natural death.

Martín Vázquez. An original *conquistador* described by Bernal Díaz as "a native of Olmedo, a rich and distinguished man" who became a settler in Mexico—died a natural death.

Gil González de Benavides. Was not an original *conquistador*, but he accompanied Cortés on his expedition to Honduras. He was the brother of the distinguished *conquistador* and Captain Alonzo de Avila, who had received the *encomienda* of the pueblo of Cuautitlan,

find out about such persons and award them, from the tribute the Indians who may be released will have to pay, what shall appear to them a sufficient sustenance and fair provision for the said *conquistadores* who are without *repartimientos*.

The said *Audiencias* shall enquire how the Indians have been treated by the persons who have held them in *encomienda*; and, if it should appear that they ought in justice to be deprived of their Indians, owing to excesses and ill treatment of them, we order that they be promptly so deprived, and that such Indians be placed under [the protection of] our Royal Crown. The Viceroy and the *Audiencia* shall furthermore enquire, with reference to settlers in Peru, into the excesses which followed the affair between the Governors Pizarro and Almagro, in order to send us a report on the subject; and from the leaders whom they find chiefly to blame in those revolutions let them take any Indians they hold, and place them under the protection of our Royal Crown.

We further order and command that from now forward no Viceroy, Governor, *Audiencia*, explorer, or other person whatsoever, has the right to allot Indians in *encomienda* whether by original indenture, transfer, gift, sale, or in any other form or manner, nor by voidance or inheritance; but when a person who owned Indians dies let them be placed under our Royal Crown. It shall be the duty of the *Audiencias* to forthwith inform themselves specially about the person who dies, his condition, merits and services, how he treated the Indians he held, whether he left wife and children, and what other heirs, and to send us a report of the nature of the Indians and the estate, that We may dispose

near Mexico. When Alonzo de Avila left Mexico he gave his brother power of attorney, so that he might benefit from the *encomienda*, and on the death of Alonzo de Avila the Crown claimed the *encomienda*, and I think there was a lawsuit about it.

The two sons of Gil González were beheaded for conspiracy.

what may be proper for our service, and grant such aid as shall seem good to us to the widow and children. If in the meanwhile it should appear to the *Audiencia* that it is necessary to provide some maintenance for such widow and children it may be done by making them a moderate allowance from the tribute to be paid by the said Indians, the Indians themselves remaining under our Royal Crown as above stated.

XIII. We order and command that our said Presidents and Judges take great care that Indians who become liberated or unclaimed in any of the above ways be very well treated, and instructed in the doctrines of our holy Catholic faith, and remain, as our subjects, free men. This is to be their principal care and that to which we would have them pay particular attention, and in which they can best serve us; and let them see to it that the Indians are governed with justice in the orderly way that the Indians who are under the protection of our Royal Crown are now governed in New Spain.

As it is reasonable that those who have served as explorers of the said Indies, and those who have helped by settling in them and have their wives there, should have preference in the benefits, we order that in making appointments to magistracies and other positions of advancement our Viceroy, Presidents, and Judges of our said *Audiencias* shall prefer the first *conquistadores*, and after them the married settlers, provided that they are persons competent to fulfil the duties; and until these are provided for, no other person be considered.

As the hearing of lawsuits brought by Spaniards claiming Indians has been followed by serious objections, it is our pleasure and we direct that from now forward such suits shall not be heard either in the Indies or in our Council of the Indies, whether in respect of Indians under our Royal Crown or in the possession of another third

party; but that every claim that may be preferred upon this subject shall be submitted to Us, in order that after obtaining the information proper to the case we may order it to be settled. Any suit that is now pending, whether before our Council in the Indies, or in any other place, we order to be suspended and not heard further, the case being referred to Us.

As one of the things wherein, as we are informed, irregularities have occurred, and may again arise in the future, is the manner of conducting explorations, We order and command that in such service the following procedure be observed:—he who desires to make discoveries by sea shall apply to the *Audiencia* of that district and jurisdiction for a Permit, and having obtained it he may proceed to explore, provided that, on pain of death, he do not take any Indian either from islands or mainland, even though he say that they sell them as slaves and this be so, or even though they wish to come voluntarily (excepting as to three or four as interpreters), nor may he seize or be in possession of anything against the will of the Indians, unless by way of barter and in presence of the person appointed by the *Audiencia*. The explorer shall observe the rules and comply with the instructions that the *Audiencia* may give him, on pain of forfeiture of all his goods and [arrest of] his person, at our discretion. He shall be instructed to take possession in Our name of all the places he may reach, and record all the latitudes.

XIV. Every such explorer is to afterwards submit to the *Audiencia* an account of what he has done and discovered, and the *Audiencia* shall send the full report to our Council of the Indies, that it may decide what is appropriate for God's service and our own. And let such explorer be charged with the settlement of the parts he has discovered, and have the reward that we may grant him in proportion to his labour, achievements, and expenses. The *Audiencia*

is to send with each explorer one or two *religiosos*, approved persons; and if such *religiosos* should wish to remain in the country discovered they may do so.

XV. No Viceroy or Governor is to undertake new discoveries by land or sea, because of the inconveniences which have resulted from the same individual being at once an explorer and Governor.

XVI. Agreements and contracts having been made with some persons at present engaged in exploration we will and command that notwithstanding any contract that may have been made with them, such explorers do keep and observe what is contained in these Ordinances, and in the instructions which the *Audiencia* may have given them, provided the latter be not contrary to what we have ordained. Let them be notified that if they do not obey, or should exceed in anything, they will in such case, and *ipso facto*, be suspended from their appointments, and will incur the loss of all favours they might have derived from Us; moreover their persons shall be at our mercy. We order the *Audiencias*, each one of them within its own district and jurisdiction, to issue to the said explorers instructions that may appear proper, in conformity with what they will be able to gather of our intentions from these our decrees, in order that exploration may be conducted with more rectitude, and that the Indians may be well treated, and safeguarded, and instructed in the tenets of our holy faith. And let especial care always be taken to find out how this is being attended to, and to ensure its being carried out.

In addition to the aforesaid we command the said persons who are exploring at our orders to promptly make a valuation of the tribute or service which the Indians in the land discovered should render as our vassals, and let the same tribute be moderate, so that they can endure it, bearing in mind the preservation of these same Indians;

and the *Comendero*, where there is one, may be supported from such tribute. In this way let the Spaniards have neither authority nor intimacy with Indians, nor any ascendancy or command (over them) and let them not make use of them either for domestic service or in other way whatever, in much or in little, nor do more than enjoy their tribute in accordance with the rules which the *Audiencia* or Governor may issue for its collection. Let this (be in force) until We, being informed of the quality of the land, decree what settlement is proper. And let this be placed among the other clauses of the contract with the said explorers.

It often happens that persons who live in the Indies come or send to beg us to grant a favour about some affairs of theirs out there, and that from not having knowledge here concerning the character of persons who submit such petitions, or their merits or ability, nor respecting the substance of their petitions, the case cannot be duly and satisfactorily dealt with. We therefore decree that such a person should show cause before the *Audiencia* on the spot for what he wishes to petition Us, so that the Judges of the said *Audiencia* may inform themselves respecting the character of the petitioner and the particulars of his plaint; and let them send such information, together with their opinion thereon, closed and under seal, to our Council of the Indies, so that by this means more light may be thrown on what decision it will be proper in our interests to come to.

It is our will and we decree that the Indians now alive in the islands of San Juan, and in Cuba and Española, both for the present and as long as it shall be our pleasure, be not oppressed with tribute or other royal services, whether of a personal or mixed kind, in excess of what is due from Spaniards who reside in the said islands; but let them be left at their ease that they may the better increase

and be instructed in the tenets of our holy catholic faith; and with this object let suitable religious persons be assigned them.

The said Ordinances and matters comprised in this our letter, each one matter and every part thereof, we command you all and each one of you, in your said places and jurisdictions respectively, as aforesaid, to abide by and carry out and cause to be observed and obeyed and executed in all respects unreservedly and with the utmost diligence and particular care as laid down in this our letter. You are neither to go against nor overstep its form or meaning, nor allow it to be contravened or exceeded either now or at any time whatsoever, or in any manner: under the penalties stated in it. And in order that all the above-mentioned [provisions] may be the more widely known, especially among the natives of our said Indies in whose behalf and for whose benefit it is enacted, We command that this our letter be printed from type and sent to all our Indies to the *religiosos* entrusted with teaching the said Indians, whom we charge to get it translated into the Indian language, that these may understand it better and know what is provided. Let no party fail in this in any respect, on pain of our displeasure and [a fine of] a thousand *castellanos de oro* for our treasury for each one who shall act to the contrary. Furthermore, We command the man who will show you this letter to summon you, and you to appear, before Us at our Court wherever We may be, within one year from the date of such summoning, under the said penalty; under the which likewise we direct our public notary who shall be called for this duty to deliver a certificate signed with his sign to the effect that he has shown this [letter] to you, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

Given at the city of Barcelona on the twentieth day of the month of November, in the year of the birth of our

Saviour Jesus Christ one thousand and five hundred and forty-two.

I, THE KING,

I, Juan de Samano, Secretary to their Cæsarean and Catholic Majesties, caused it to be written by command.

Fr. Garsias, Cardinalis Hispalensis.

Doctor Guevara.

Doctor Figueroa.

Registered. Ochoa de Luyando.

For the Chancellor. Ochoa de Luyando.

CHAPTER C

How, as soon as they had drawn up the Ordinances, they sent them to most parts of the Indies; how in some places great resentment was shown, while in others there were no slight disturbances, and how in the city of Lima the Municipality despatched the alcalde Palomino and Don Antonio de Rivera to apprise Vaca de Castro of it.

AS had been ordered by his Majesty the Emperor, with the concurrence of the Grandees and Prelates, clergy and members of his Royal Council, the Ordinances or laws for the government of the Indies, which we have quoted, were forthwith sent to New Spain, Española, Popayán, and Cartagena to be put in force. The Licentiate Hernando Díaz de Armendáriz came to the interior provinces, and when the tenour of the Ordinances became noised abroad it caused great excitement. Many who had spent their lives in the conquests, and had grown old in the discoveries, displayed great gloom, so that their countenances reflected the anxiety of their minds. In many places there were meetings and assemblies to discuss the Ordinances, at which it was proposed to report to his Majesty

so that he might order their petitions to be entertained until he could be better informed; for the thing had been done on statements of infatuated friars. In New Spain, however, there was a man abounding in virtues and quick to perceive what was best both for the King's service and the pacification of the country, Don Antonio de Mendoza. With great patience and goodwill he ignored the first outburst of the people, waiting until the general excitement had abated; and then, with loving words, though weighty, he not only gave hearing to their petitions but forthwith suspended the Ordinances, advising his Majesty that it was best so for his service. In other provinces also those who governed acted prudently and did the same; while in yet other parts they waited, as all the rest are doing now, because that course was wisest for the welfare and tranquillity of those Realms and best, moreover, for the natives, as any reasonable man will understand.

When the copy of the laws was brought by Diego de Aller to Panamá, there was in that Realm the captain Alonso de Alvarado who, ceasing to listen to vain talk, departed for Spain after having expressed the opinion I have just written. Then Juan de Cáceres the accountant, and others who were there, sent the transcript of the Ordinances to Peru. As soon as they reached that Realm great excitement arose, it being made known that they were very stringent. Alonso Palomino, who was then *alcalde* of the city of Lima, and Antonio de Rivera, were at once sent off in great haste to the city of Cuzco, where the Governor Vaca de Castro was, to give him an account of the unrest, that he might form an opinion on the best course to be adopted for the common weal and the safety of the Realm. They set out accordingly for Cuzco, where they found Vaca de Castro very indignant because the municipality of Lima had refused to receive the Bachelor Juan Vélez de Guevara as his Deputy. He sent a constable

of his to Lima to summon the officials of New Castille to appear before him at Cuzco; and, at the same time, he directed certain gold of the royal fifths, amounting to a hundred thousand *pesos*, to be sent to Spain. And because the royal officials of New Toledo were feeling aggrieved that Cuzco fell within the limits of that province, the Governor, after the latitude in which it stands had been well observed, and other points noted, ruled that it lay within the government of New Castille together with fifteen leagues beyond it, and that Arequipa and the very rich districts of the Charcas and Collao were to be included.

In Spain, after the promulgation of the New Laws, they discussed who should be sent to Peru as Viceroy. News came that it would be Don Antonio de Leyva, then again that it was the Marshal of Navarre. Some allege that this was whom his Majesty intended, but that the Marshal answered that he would not go out to deprive those who were in the Indies of their property, to which they were so justly entitled. It was also said here that in Spain many held that the men in the Indies were of mean position, and a poor lot who could easily be made to think that it would be best to comply with the Ordinances, and that very little sufficed to enable them to live as their fathers did. These things were heard by the people over here with great indignation, and, laying their hands on their beards, they said that it was clear that the glory of Spain's past was entirely attributable to its illustrious men. Their indignation was the greater in that all who dwelt in the Realms of New Spain and Peru were men of ancient lineage, whose forefathers had distinguished themselves in the wars which the Kings of Spain waged against the Moors. Finally, there was a wild tumult, the news flying from one part to another, and foreshadowing a recurrence of great evils.

CHAPTER CI

Of what further took place between the captains, Felipe Gutiérrez and Francisco de Mendoza, and how, after having explored some provinces down the river, Felipe Gutiérrez was arrested by Francisco de Mendoza.

THE reader will remember how, in previous chapters, we said that the general Felipe Gutiérrez went exploring down the *Soconcho* river, taking Francisco de Mendoza with him. Having formed his camp among people there, well supplied with provisions, Felipe Gutiérrez turned his attention to his plan of depriving Mendoza of the command he held. He sent to ask him for his papers, representing that he did so of a purpose, and because he wished him well, in order that the soldiers should not influence him to any step that might give rise to a renewal of mischief in the camp which would cause them all to be lost, for in no way was it possible for two leaders to govern the same force. Francisco de Mendoza was in no mind to resign the post that had been given to him, and replied to Felipe Gutiérrez that he would not consider any such proposal, because he would rather lose his life than his command. After this exchange of views the friends of Francisco de Mendoza warned him to look out for himself, because Felipe Gutiérrez wanted to kill him. He was astonished to hear such things and always kept men in his tent to help him if they should see him in any pass. The general Felipe Gutiérrez moved from there to another large province; and, leaving Sotomayor on guard over the camp, set out in quest of discoveries, taking Francisco de Mendoza with him and such men as he thought fit. He followed the river towards the west,¹ and they found the land flat and covered with trees

¹ *Poniente.*

and explored it for fifty leagues, where he came to a well-peopled country. They had great battles with the barbarians in which, although a few Christians and horses were wounded, many of the natives were left dead upon the field. After having advanced the distance stated, they found no more inhabitants, and Felipe Gutiérrez wanted to go in search of some, either in one direction or another. The soldiers murmured against him, saying that if they had gone to explore in the direction of sunrise they would have found rich settlements where all might gain advantage, and that he had neither the sagacity nor the prudence requisite for undertaking this conquest.

Francisco de Mendoza, glad to hear these things, cunningly began to give out that it was not Felipe Gutiérrez who was to blame, but the soldiers themselves for having him as their general, since he had not the ability to command them. In fine he said such things that he moved their minds to do a very disgraceful deed, and one deserving of severe punishment, for, revealing himself as the author of the stroke, this infatuated youth Francisco de Mendoza, accompanied by those who were his accomplices, went to the tent of his courageous though careless leader Felipe Gutiérrez and, raising the flap of his tent, shouted at him: "Why, Felipe Gutiérrez, do you wish to kill me?" Aroused from a deep sleep by the loud voice, Felipe Gutiérrez said, "I kill you, Señor Captain Francisco de Mendoza? I have never thought of such a thing." Without more words they all rushed in upon him, seized him, and put him in chains, robbing him of all he possessed, which was no small quantity. Not content with his capture they cried out that he should be killed. Francisco de Mendoza answered that there was no cause to kill him, and that it would be enough to turn him out of the country. Felipe Gutiérrez, finding himself thus treated, and seeing the disgraceful conduct of the people, fearing they would kill him, begged Francisco

de Mendoza to spare his life, and this he promised to do. From thence Francisco de Mendoza turned back towards the place where Sotomayor had remained with the camp, carrying Felipe de Gutiérrez, and four others who were suspected, as prisoners. These were Diego Álvarez, Juan Gutiérrez, Valderrama and another. When they were near the camp, Mendoza left Ruy Sánchez de Hinojosa in charge of the prisoners, and went to the camp himself at night. On entering it he gave orders that no person was to go outside of his house on pain of death, and then Francisco de Mendoza managed his affair with such adroitness, that he got all the people over to his side. In the morning Mass was said, and when it was finished all took the oath to him as Lieutenant for the Governor, just as Felipe Gutiérrez had ordered when Diego de Rojas died. He then ordered Hinojosa to come in with the prisoners, and a close watch was kept over them.

CHAPTER CII

Of other things done by Francisco de Mendoza, and how he sent to arrest Nicolás de Heredia and sent Felipe Gutiérrez away.

AFTER Francisco de Mendoza had gained the people over, and been received as captain, and sworn to as such, he ordered one Juan García to go with twenty-six men and turn Felipe Gutiérrez out of the province; that, with six mounted men, he might find his way back to Peru. García was also to arrest Nicolás de Heredia, the Camp-master, and to take away his arms and those of the men who were with him, fearing lest, Felipe Gutiérrez being absent, he might seek for means to take command by virtue of the commission he held from Vaca de Castro. Nicolás

de Heredia had remained behind with some Spaniards who were sick, and the captains having gone far ahead, he had not been able to join them; while, the Indians having made fierce war upon him, he and his companions had shown much spirit in defending themselves against them.

After taking charge of Felipe Gutiérrez and the six who were to go with him, Juan García started off and marched until he came to where Nicolás de Heredia was encamped, whom, suspecting nothing, he arrested. Then, having taken Felipe Gutiérrez and his six companions as far as the outskirts of the mountain country, he left them. With great risk to themselves and their horses, and with much difficulty, they reached Cuzco at a time when Vaca de Castro had already left the city and Gonzalo Pizarro was wishing to set out for Lima.

Juan García returned to Francisco de Mendoza, taking Nicolás de Heredia with him and, before they arrived at the camp, Mendoza ordered Gabriel Hernández to go and tell Heredia, from him, that he was there as captain, that all had sworn to him as such, and that Heredia must do the same, or else go the same road as Felipe Gutiérrez. Gabriel Hernández, having arrived at the place where Heredia was, warned him that it would not do to act otherwise, and Nicolás de Heredia took the oath to Francisco de Mendoza as his captain, as the rest had done. To make it more binding they divided the Host between them. Thence they set out in search of food, always hearing some yelling of the Indians, who were so numerous that they could not be fairly reckoned.

Francisco de Mendoza next ordered Juan García to go with thirty Spaniards and explore towards the uplands of Popayán,¹ and he was away for three months, finding several native settlements, and hearing news of very prosperous

¹ This must be an error, probably for Tucumán.

ones farther on. In many of the *pueblos* they saw they found no other bread than *algarroba*,¹ and the natives were barbarous and of low type. There were many ewes. Being in want of horse shoes, they [Juan García's party] returned to where Francisco de Mendoza remained, who, in view of their long absence, was about to send and find out what had become of them. Before this, leaving Nicolás de Heredia in charge of the camp, Mendoza had set out to see if he could find some profitable country, but came upon nothing good, so he resolved to go and explore in the direction Felipe Gutiérrez had taken; and this he did, after the return of Juan García and his companions. But, coming to swamps and morasses, they were unable to pass them; so sending some of his party back to the camp with Pedro López de Ayala, Mendoza with the remainder ascended a cordillera or chain of hills which traverses those plains and came to some settlements, and to many streams which rise in the uplands. After exploring for a distance of eighty leagues and seeing the country was well supplied, where the camp could be maintained, and having information of other provinces farther on, he went back in order to return there with the whole of his people. Coming to a village on the track, they camped near it for the night, but when the barbarians found out that they had come there, thinking they would sleep in the houses, they got fire ready so as to burn them when they should be inside. In the second watch of the night numbers of Indians came with a great rush and set fire to the village, which was burnt. Had the Christians been within doors they would have been in danger, for the fire was widespread and very sudden. And, though they themselves were not sleeping in the houses, they had put all their stores inside them and these were consumed in the fire. Some

¹ *Prosopis* (*Sp. var.*), yielding a bean.

horses and mules were also burnt, and many of the servants. The Christians, with great commotion, got up in astonishment at what was happening, for they had not seen a single Indian; and thenceforward they continued their march very cautiously, lest any such disaster as this should occur again.

On reaching the camp Francisco de Mendoza remained there for several days, waiting for the maize to ripen, as at that time it was only in leaf. Afterwards he set out from that place with all his men, intending to proceed in the direction of sunrise, because the cordillera he had discovered lay on that bearing. After eight days' march Mendoza judged it wise to go forward himself and explore the route in advance, and selecting sixty Spaniards, he prepared to do so, leaving Nicolás de Heredia in charge of the camp with orders to follow after him; where we will let him be for the present.

CHAPTER CIII

How his Majesty the Emperor, our Lord, ordered Blasco Nuñez Vela to proceed as Viceroy to the Realms of Peru, to give effect there to the new laws that had been enacted for the government of the empire of the Indies.

AS his Majesty the Emperor Don Carlos our Lord, most fortunate King of the Spains, and the members of his very high Council, had considered many times who should go to Peru as Viceroy to maintain peace in those provinces and enforce the New Laws, and notwithstanding that several Spanish gentlemen had been discussed with that view, his Majesty fixed his eyes on Blasco Nuñez Vela, a native of the city of Ávila, of noble descent, and very zealous for the royal service. He had already occupied

important posts in Spain; and it was always said that he had discharged the duties of them with fidelity. He had been chief Magistrate of Malaga, on the frontier of Navarre he was Inspector-General, and he once came to this country as Captain-General of the Fleet to fetch the treasure that was here. He was tall, of good bearing, and gentle mien, he had clear, light blue eyes, aquiline features, a broad forehead, a thick and very imposing beard, was an excellent horseman in both saddles, and quick of apprehension save that it was not very sure. He was one of those who always lay themselves out to serve their king; very God-fearing, homely, modest, well bred, an enemy to traitors, the friend of loyalty, he was always ready to rely upon himself, and put little faith in his followers, but this I attribute more to the perversity of men in this country than to his own worth. He was a passionate man and quick to anger; after reaching this country he placed full confidence in no person, and thus, impulsive as he was in his wrath he was equally so in killing those who angered him. This was the person his Majesty summoned before him and told that it would befit the royal service if he were to go to Peru and be Viceroy there, and bring those regions under a just rule, and give effect therein to the New Laws which had been made for the government of the Realm.

Blasco Núñez Vela, it is said, felt regret that his Majesty had ordered him to go; but although this was so, he replied that he would do all that his Majesty might wish, having been born with that obligation upon him. After other things, of which history does not call for treatment here, Blasco Núñez Vela was appointed Viceroy of Peru, and President of the *Audiencia* which was to be established at Lima. The Ordinances were given to him to enforce, dealing specially with each section by itself. Having received the despatches and instructions, kissed the hands of his Majesty, and taken leave of the Lords of the Council,

Blasco Núñez Vela went to the city of Ávila, to enjoy a few days with his wife and children. He left that city accompanied by his brother, Francisco Velásquez Vela Núñez, Diego Alvarez de Cueto his brother-in-law, and other gentlemen who were his relations or friends, and set out with a great quantity of luggage and equipment for Seville. When it became known in Spain that Blasco Núñez Vela had been selected to be Viceroy of Peru, there were murmurs, and it was said no good would come of it, but that, on the contrary, great evils would arise from his going there, for that he was not the man to keep peace in that land. They affirm that the Marquis del Valle, D. Hernando Cortés, the mirror of governors and captains in the Indies, said publicly many times that Blasco Núñez Vela would not succeed in establishing peace in Peru because the people who live there are unruly and self-willed, and that when he himself was conducting the exploration of New Spain he used to set up crosses along all the roads, whereas the leaders who had discovered Peru had been always envious of each other, and there was hidden rancour between them, and transactions that ended in the battles of which everybody has heard. The commonalty of Spain and the people at large rejoiced at the promulgation of the new laws, and desired that those living in the Indies should be governed by them. The gentry and men of backbone, who understand what fortitude is, said that if the residents in the Indies were to obey the Ordinances on all points they would be for ever reproached as weaklings, and the sons who might be born to them would live in affliction through the supineness of their fathers.

When Blasco Núñez Vela arrived [at Seville], he found there the Judges who had been appointed, and there was great confidence that they would discharge their duties well. Their names were the Licentiate Cepeda, who was a Judge in the Canary Isles, Dr. Tejada, the Licentiate Alvarez,

and the Licentiate Zarateña. With these he set out for the spacious port of San Lucar de Barrameda, and ordered the ships to be got ready in which he and those who were going out with him expected to sail—wishing himself already in the land of the Indies.

CHAPTER CIV

How the Alcalde Alonso Palomino and Don Antonio de Rivera arrived at the city of Cuzco, and what happened.

WE have already related, farther back, how the municipality of Lima ordered the *alcalde* Alonso Palomino and Don Antonio Rivera to set out and travel, with all speed, to the great city of Cuzco, where they would find Vaca de Castro, and to give him the Ordinances which the accountant Juan de Cáceres had sent from Panamá, that he might decide what course would be best for the Realm. Palomino and Rivera arrived at Cuzco, causing disquiet to those who were inclined for peace, urging that such a calamity as this must not be let pass, for they all knew with what labour these regions had been explored. Vaca de Castro, having seen the Ordinances, and, being a discreet man, in no wise lost patience. On the contrary, he summoned the following citizens to meet in the municipal chamber :

Capt. Garcilaso de la Vega,	Juan Julio de Ojeda,
Don Martín de Guzmán,	Juan Vélez de Guevara,
Hernando Bachicao,	Diego Maldonado.

When they had assembled he caused the Ordinances to be read to them in his presence. The officers of the municipality then discussed the matter in session, saying that

that city was the headpiece of the Realm and the others should be governed by it. The Emperor, our Lord, being so Christian a prince, it was not seemly to believe that, without hearing their objections, he should wish to deprive them of their property; and that the Ordinances could not be wholly complied with, notwithstanding that they must obey them as coming from their natural King. Vaca de Castro replied with some warmth that they should be silent rather than show such temper, because, since his Majesty had ordered that the Ordinances were to come into force, it had to be done and they must bow to the command, as that of their natural King and Lord. He said, further, that they must wait for the arrival of the Viceroy who, it might be, would consent to submit their petition before the royal presence. Meanwhile, they would not be dispossessed either of their estates or of Indians.

Subsequently, the *alcalde* Palomino, Don Antonio de Rivera, Hernando Bachicao, and Cermefio and others, according to report, wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro at his estate where he was staying, acquainting him with the Ordinances that had arrived, urging him to stand as the defender of everyone. For, said they, he was the brother of the Governor who opened up these countries and, in times and necessities like the present, gentlemen should show their worth, and the whole Realm would be with him to help and petition against these laws, and would venture their persons and estates in that cause. The letters I mention having been prepared, they were sent with all speed to where Gonzalo Pizarro was staying; and the messenger presently returned to Lima. After these things had occurred Vaca de Castro, with the concurrence of the leading citizens of Cuzco, arranged to send messengers to all the cities and towns in the Realm. They were told to appoint proctors whom they were to send to him to prepare for despatching representatives to Spain, with all possible

speed, to inform his Majesty as to what was fitting in the interests of his royal service, and to entreat him to sanction an appeal against some of the Ordinances. When Francisco de Caravajal, who was Sergeant-Major at the battle of Chupas, heard that the Viceroy would soon arrive with the Ordinances, being a man of good understanding and clear judgment (though he afterwards put his talents to so bad a use) he spoke to Vaca de Castro, telling him that he well knew what a loyal friend he [Caravajal] had been to him, as the Governor had always found him ready with his services in all the recent events. He therefore now asked a favour, which was that he might depart for Spain, where he would give the King an account of affairs in Peru, and tell him how poorly the *conquistadores* had been requited for the great services they had done for his Majesty. Without this, the promulgation of the Ordinances that were coming would be rendered serious and difficult. Vaca de Castro and the officers of the municipality, after considering the matter in council, agreed that Francisco de Caravajal should go on the errand he proposed, and if perchance he should meet Blasco Núñez Vela who, it was now generally known, was coming as Viceroy, he was to explain the state of the Realm to him and counsel him to approach it with sentiments of consideration and forbearance, so as to preclude any revival of sedition.

There was great excitement among the people throughout the Realm when they heard about the Ordinances. The Spaniards were deeply chagrined, and declared that in the subjugation of this country many had lost their lives, and that to come here they had parted with their properties in Spain; while others, too, had grown old in campaigning in these regions—all without receiving royal pay or any reward except the Indians they held in *encomienda*, who were now, at their [liege's] death, to be

taken from the widow. In such circumstances what could be expected but that, forced by necessity, they should do ugly things and act against [the dictates of] their honour? And that their children would be left in poverty and their services meet with no recompense? Besides this they said that as for taking away from them the Indians whom they had obtained with so much labour, better were it that they should kill them all. And not only was this question about the Ordinances talked over, but false rumours were spread that all who might be found guilty of having been concerned in previous disturbances would be punished with great severity. The commotion among the people also gave rise to other versions which were all greedily listened to, and flew with great celerity from one place to another nourishing profound discontent and angry passions. Some showed the wounds they had sustained in their campaigns, which made the womenfolk shed many tears, saying that if their husbands were deprived of their estates, where could they themselves go to to maintain their lives with honour, being so far away from Spain? The agitation was greatest in the city of Cuzco, because the news was received there with acute displeasure: insomuch that angry words were bandied about, coming deep from their breasts, some of them violent and boding ill for the King's service.

When Vaca de Castro was informed of what was being said, being anxious to preserve the Realm in peace, tranquillity, and contentment, and to stifle the wild utterances of persons who spoke so freely, he sent for Diego de Silva and Juan Vélez de Guevara (*alcaldes*) and said to them: "Go ye through the city, and if ye hear any one speak openly against the King's service hang such a man at once, without waiting to make a deposition." When Diego de Silva and the other *alcalde* heard the talk that was going on, and learnt about the gatherings, and that the

people were firm in their contentions and making common cause to resist, and not obey, the Ordinances, they went relentlessly through the city ordering all to hold their peace, on pain of death ; and they warned the principal citizens to have patience, and wait to see what his Majesty would order, and whether the Viceroy would forward the petition against the Laws. To this it is said they answered, that if his Majesty did it to raise money, they and their city would make him a present of five hundred thousand ducats. So Francisco de Caravajal departed from Cuzco, very pleased at quitting Peru at this time, carrying despatches from the Governor Vaca de Castro, and from the people of Cuzco to the municipal authorities of Lima desiring them to write to his Majesty.

THE END



INDEX

- Abibe mountains**, 11.
- Accomplices and conspirators in the plot to assassinate the Marquis Pizarro**, the parts they played, and their ultimate fates, 102-3 and *n.*
- Acosta**, Juan de, 55, 73, 290, 312.
- Agamenon**, father-in-law of Pedro de Candia, a Greek, 263.
- Agüero**, Diego de, 112-13, 169, 234, 236, 277, 279, 282.
- alcald**, meaning of, xlv; 6, 14, 48-9, 51, 79, 127-8, 135, 152-3, 160, 179, 193, 341, 361, 371-2, 374.
- Aldana**, Lorenzo de, xlv, 4-7, 34, 55, 140-1, 157, 159, 160, 162, 183, 188-9, 191, 199, 200, 203, 207, 237-8, 277, 282.
- algarroba bread**, 367 and *n.*
- algarrobo**, the tree (*Prosopis, sp. var.*), 328; forests, 334.
- alguacil**, meaning of, xlv; 6, 152-3.
- Aliaga**, Jerónimo de, 112-13; governor's lieutenant at Lima, 185; 234, 236.
- Aller**, Diego de, 309, 361.
- Almagro**, Don Diego de, the elder, *Adelantado*, xxvii, xxix-xli, 4, 51-3, 79, 80, 82-4, 91, 92 and *n.*, 96 and *n.*, 97, 124, 127, 131, 135, 139, 141, 148, 155, 157, 163, 178, 181, 192, 212; fate of his captains, 216 and *n.*; 258, 260, 264, 337, 354.
- the lad, xxxviii-xlii, 52-3, 81-4, 92-5, 97, 102-3, 111-14; his parentage and boyhood, 114-15 *n.*; is acknowledged governor at Lima, 115; 116-19, 123-5, 127-9, 131, 133-5, 142, 144-5, 147-51, 153, 155-9, 163-7, 169-72, 174, 178-82, 184-5, 188, 190, 192, 194, 206-9, 211; his address to the army, 212-13; 214-15, 217, 220-31, 235-45, 250-60, 262-3; addresses his army again, 264-5; 266, 268-73, 275-9, 281-2, 292-7; his execution, 298-9; his history, character, and career, 299-303 *n.*
- Almagro faction or party**, known as the "men of Chile" or "Chile party," xxvii, xxxv, 81-6, 91-5, 98-9, 101-2, 104, 106-8, 111-13, 115, 118, 121-2, 124-5, 128-35, 141, 144, 153, 155, 157, 159, 162, 166-7, 170-1, 173-5, 178, 182, 194, 201, 216, 219, 230-1, 244, 255, 260-1, 263, 268, 270-1, 275, 278, 280-1; rout and break-up of, 282; names of its members executed after Chupas, 286; 288, 337.
- Almagro**, Jerónimo de, 102, 106, 281, 283.
- Almendras**, Diego de, 154.
- Francisco de, 152-3.
- Martín de, 132-3.
- Alvarado**, Alonso de, xxix, xxxiii, xxxv, 53-4, 117; declares for the king and is acknowledged as Chief Justice and Captain-general, 121; 122-5, 135, 144, 151, 155-6, 161, 165-6, 170, 172, 176-7, 179, 182, 186-9, 191, 196-8, 201-3, 207, 211, 235-6, 237-8, 254-5, 257, 262, 269, 272, 277, 279-81, 309-10, 361.
- Diego de, xxxvi, 80-1; executor of the elder Almagro's will, 213.
- Gómez de, *See* Gómez de Alvarado.
- y Sosa, García de, 103-4, 113, 117-19, 123, 125, 144, 149, 155-6, 158, 168-9, 172; becomes general, 173; 180-1, 209, 211, 214-18; basely kills Sotelo, 219; 220-2; appointed deputy governor, 223; his arrogance and duplicity, 224, 225-9; killed by Almagro "the lad," 230-1; 238, 261-2.
- Alvarez**, Antonio, 153, 181-2.
- Diego, 315, 365.
- Alvarez Holguín**, Pero, 84, 127, 129-37, 150-3; accepted at Cuzco as general, 154; 156-7, 163; accepted at Guamanga, 165; at Parcos, 165; 166-7, 170-9, 186-9, 191-2, 194, 197, 199, 200; Vaca de Castro relegates him as camp-master, 201; 202-4; delivers the

- royal standard to Vaca de Castro, 205; 206-7, 209-11, 232-8, 243, 252, 254, 269, 272, 276; killed in the battle, 278; his burial at Guamanga, 284 *n.*
- Ampudia**, Juan de, 5-6, 34, 39-42; killed by Indians, 43; 48.
- anacona**, *yana-cuna*, 120 and *n.*
- Añasco**, Pedro de, 4, 34-6; wounded, 37; killed and eaten, 38; 41, 48, 55.
- Andagoya**, Juan de, 89, 90, 138.
- Don Pascual de, *Adelantado*, 8, 44-6, 48-9, 55, 77-8, 89 and *n.*, 90, 138-9 and *n.*; his narrative, 140 *n.*
- Andahuaylas**, 244, 293.
- Antioquia**, 184.
- Anzerma**, province and city, 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 45, 48, 55, 77-9, 157.
- Anzures de Camporredondo**, Pedro, xxvii, xxxiv, 1, 4, 84, 131, 134, 136, 151-3; his troop of horsemen, 153-4; 156, 163, 188, 203, 207, 234, 236, 255-6, 271-2, 276, 280-1, 288, 297, 299, 305, 309.
- Apia** valley, 14.
- Apirimá**, 35, 38-9.
- Apurimac**, river and bridge, 243, 305.
- Arauco**, river, 315, 317.
- Arbi**, region, 19.
- Arbolancha**, Bartolomé de, 102 and *n.*; kills Chaves, 107 and *n.*; is executed, 286.
- Arequipa**, xxviii, 1-3, 50, 52-3; acknowledges Don Diego as governor, 136; 137, 154, 176, 208-9, 214, 216, 239, 362.
- Arma**, region, 21, 28, 33-4, 46.
- Arrow** poison, 331-4.
- Assassination** of the Marquis Pizarro, xlii, chap. xxxi and *passim*.
- Assassins** and accessories, xli, xlii; names and fates of the, 102 and *n.*
- Atrato**, river, 16 *n.*
- Audiencia**, Royal, 338, 341-51, 354-8.
- of Guatemala and Nicaragua, 345.
- of Mexico, 345.
- of Panamá, xlii, xlii, 80-1, 89, 90, 138, 246, 287, 298.
- of Perú, 345; names of judges appointed to, 370-1.
- Ayala**. See López de Ayala, Pedro.
- Ayunga**, valley, 36.
- Bachicao**, Hernando, 128, 136, 371-2.
- Báñez**, Juan Alonso de, 168.
- Baeza**, valley of, 7.
- Juan de, 83.
- Balsá**, Juan, xxix; serving with the Almagro party, 52, 118, 208, 216-18; his equivocal position at Sotelo's death, 219; nominated Don Diego's Captain-general, 222; 223-6, 228, 230, 240-1, 245, 257, 262, 275.
- Baltanas**, 208, 214.
- barbacoa**, 16, 21.
- Barbarán**, Juan de, 111 and *n.*, 283 *n.*
- Barragán**. See Rodríguez Barragán, Juan.
- Barrientos**, Cristóbal de, standard bearer at Chupas, 183, 277, 283 *n.*
- Barrionuevo**, Francisco de, Governor of Lima, 111, 185, 234.
- Barroso**, Pedro, 119, 120, 144.
- Belalcázar**, Sebastián de, *Adelantado*, 5, 8, 45-6, 49, 54-5, 77-9, 89, 90, 137-8 and *n.*, 139 and *n.*, 140-1, 157-9, 161, 182-4, 188-91, 339; his death, 23 *n.*
- Beltrán**, Dr., 81, 116.
- Bernal**, Luis, 11, 12, 40.
- Bilbao**, Martín de, 102, 108 (printed in error as M. de Villar), 244, 262, 275, 280, 282.
- Bishop** of Chiapa. See Las Casas.
- of Lima. See Valverde.
- of Plasencia, 136-7 *n.*
- of Quito. See Díaz de Arias.
- Blázquez**, Dr. Juan, 53, 98, 101, 103, 105-7, 111; is killed by natives at Puna, 124-5.
- Bogotá** province, 34-5, 38, 77.
- Bombon**, 172-3, 188, 204, 305.
- Book** of Foundations. See *Libro de fundaciones*.
- Bracamoros** province, 162, 192-3, 288.
- Buenaventura**, port of, 44, 77, 87, 89, 90 and *n.*, 91, 118, 137-8, 139 *n.*, 140, 157, 159, 164.
- Burgos**, Cristóbal de, of Lima, 277, 281.
- Bustamente**, Pedro de, 74-5.
- Cabildo**, definition of, xlv.
- Cabrera**, Alonso de, the Marquis' chamberlain, 83, 116, 118-19, 125-6, 158.
- Juan, 184.
- Pedro Luis de, 82, 85.
- Cáceres**, Juan de, accountant, 82, 119, 309, 330-1, 361, 371.
- Call**, city of, xxviii, 4-6, 34, 45, 47-9,

- 55, 75, 77-8, 87, 90 *n.*, 137-40, 157-9, 191.
- Camargo**, Alonso de, the navigator, 137 *n.*, 154.
- Camarilla**, Alonso García, 172, 259; his capture, 260; his execution, 261 and *n.*; 262.
- Camporredondo**. See Anzares de, and Rodríguez de.
- Campo**, Rodrigo de, carries the royal standard, 305, 355.
- Candia**, Pedro de, a Greek artillery expert, xxvii, xxxvi, 209-10, 240, 263, 276; his loyalty questioned, 278-9; is killed during the battle, 279-80.
- Canela**, the Canela country or "land of cinnamon," xxvii, 2, 55; Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition through, chapters xix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxxi: 162, 289, 291, 307, 311, 313.
- Canelo**, the (*Canella alba*), 59.
- Cannibal** practices observed, 8, 20, 22-3 and *n.*, 25-6, 28, 35-6.
- Capayán**, village, 319, 325.
- Carangue**, near Quito, 160, 182.
- Caravajal** (Carbajal), Diego de, 51.
- Francisco de, *a. calde*, 127-9; sergeant-major, 181 and *n.*; 269, 272; Camp-master, 276; 277, 280, 373; 375.
- Juan de, a *regidor* of Plata, 152, 154.
- licentiate, 99.
- See Suárez de.
- Caravaya**, river, 308-9.
- Cardenas**, a captain, 168; executed, 286.
- Cardona**, one of Pizarro's pages, 100, 108 and *n.*, 110.
- Carrapa**, region, 19-22, 24, 27, 34, 46.
- Carrillo**, Martín, 103, 115; acts as Camp-master, 208 and *n.*; orders a prisoner to be stabled to prevent his rescue, 208; 214, 217, 221, 229, 238-9, 283; is captured when a fugitive in hiding, 285; and executed, 286.
- Cartagena** (de Indias), 5, 6, 10-12, 23 *n.*, 48, 339, 360.
- Cartago**, city founded, 46-7; 48-9, 77-9, 138, 141, 157, 339.
- Castilla**, Don Baltasar de, 113, 283.
- Castro**, Captain (Pedro), 130-1, 133-5, 186, 202, 269, 271-2, 277, 280, 297.
- See Vaca de Castro.
- Cauca** valley, xxvi, xxviii.
- Caxamarca**, 155, 167, 171, 176.
- Centeno**, Diego, 153-4, 283.
- César**, Francisco de, 304 and *n.*
- Chachapoyas**, 53, 54 *n.*, 117, 120-2, 161, 170, 310.
- Chaco**, *el Gran*, xxvii, 323 *n.*, 334 *n.*, 336 *n.*
- Charcas**, 52-3, 181, 180, 243, 310, 313, 362.
- Charles V**, the Emperor Don Carlos, xxxvii, xliii; his humane policy towards the Indians of America, xlii-iii, 338, 348-59; 360, 368.
- Chaves**, Francisco de (the good one), 50 and *n.*, 52, 83, 93, 103, 105-6; receives a mortal wound while defending the Marquis, 107.
- (the bad one), 50 *n.*, 113, 117, 144-50; is executed, 150; 216, 231.
- Chiapa**, Bishop of. See Las Casas.
- Chile**, *passim*.
- party, or men of. See Almagro faction.
- Chiquana** valley, 316 and *n.*, 318, 321, 325-6.
- Choco**, *el*, 15.
- Chunchos**, the, 84, 127, 130, 135, 151, 171, 194, 204, 305.
- Chupas**, xxvii-viii, xli-xlii, 113-14, 117 *n.*, 154, 168; account of the battle of, chaps. lxxvii-viii; site of, xl, 274-5 *n.*; 178-9 *n.*, 216, 241, 265, 267, 270-1; topography of, by C. R. M., 274-5 *n.*; date of battle, 282; list of captains present at, 282-3-4 and *n.*; 292-3, 314, 339, 373.
- Chuquiapu** (La P'az), 2, 129, 133.
- Chuquito**, 132-3, 135.
- Cieza de León**, Pedro de, his writings, xxv-xxviii, xxxi-xxxiii, xxxix-xlvii; 52 *n.*; denounces cruel treatment of the Indians, xlv, 164-5, 339; bewails his pen-weariness, 314-15.
- "Cinnamon" forest. See Canela.
- Clerics, friars, priests, and *religiosos*, various, 22, 55, 67, 97-8, 101, 122, 127; succour the wounded and confess the dying, 283, 357, 359.
- Cobos**, Don Francisco de los, *Comendador mayor*, Charles V's secretary, xxxvii, 116.
- coca** monopoly, 295.
- Coca** river, 62 *n.*; village, 291.
- Collao**, the, xxviii, 1, 50, 127, 132, 362.
- Concho** tract, 327.
- Conchucos** Indians, 118.
- conquistadores*, the original Spanish

- invaders of America, 20, 226, 236.
293, 306, 352 *n.*, 354, 373.
Contents, chapter headings, vii-xxi; maps and plates, xxiii.
Coronado, Francisco, 103; executed, 285.
Corregidores, 347-8.
Cortés, Hernando, 370.
Cotabamba, 156.
Cote, Martín, 168, 228, 262, 275; executed, 286.
Council of the Indies, Royal, 100, 338, 341-6, 348, 355-6, 360.
Cross-bows in warfare, 16, 17, 25, 29, 39, 40, 73-5, 210.
cundra, of Lima, 104 *n.*
Curahuasi rest house, 243.
Cuzco, city of, xxviii, xxx-xxxvi, xxxviii, xlii, 1-3, 52-3, 62, 84, 116-17, 124, 126-31, 133-7, 144, 150-1, 154, 156-7, 161, 163-7, 170, 173-4, 179-82, 186, 194, 200, 203-4, 209, 211, 213-15, 222-3, 236-41, 248, 250, 257, 259, 270, 280, 282, 286-9, 292-5, 297, 299, 307, 309-11; memorial stone at, 312; 317, 323, 361-2, 366, 371-2, 374-5.
- Díaz de Arias, Garcí**, the favourite, afterwards Bishop of Quito, 3, 4, 93, 96 *n.*, 105-7, 111, 116.
— *de Armendáriz*, Hernando, licentiate, 360.
— *de Pineda*, Gonzalo, 6, 7, 55, 69, 73-5.
Don Diego. *See* Almagro, Don Diego de, the lad.
Diente, Juan, a scout, native of Gibraltar, 103, 116, 117 and *n.*, 126-7, 259-60, 261 and *n.*; executed, 286.
Diez, Garcí. *See* Díaz de Arias.
dogs, employed as fighting units, 25, 39, 61, 291.
- El Dorado*, valley, 55.
— **Gallo**, island, 85-6.
— *Mocho*, 92 *n.*
Encomenauero, definition of, xlv; 350 *n.*
Encomienda, xxix, definition of, xlv; 20, 50, 233, 244, 288, 293, 306, 340, 350, 354, 373.
Enríquez, Don Alonso, 80.
Española, island of, extinction of the natives, 339; New Laws for, 358; sent to, 300.
Executions, xlii, xliii; list of, after the battle of Chupas, 286.
- Frontera, La**, city of (in Chachapoyas), 54, 117, 120-4, 161.
— (at Guamanga), designation changed to La Vitoria, 288.
Fuentes, Pedro de, ensign, 187.
Fundaciones. *See* *Libro de*.
Funes, Cristóbal de, 57, 73.
- Gallego, Francisco**, a turncoat, 261.
García, Alonso. *See* Camarilla.
— *de Alvarado*. *See* Alvarado, García de.
— **Juan**, a turncoat, 218-19, 261, 365-7.
Garma, village in Auzerna, 12, 14.
Gavilán, Diego, a conquistador, 112-13, 236.
Godoy, Francisco de, 112, 235-8, 277, 282.
gold, deposits or mines of, 21, 22, 35, 308-9.
— and golden ornaments, 14, 19, 29, 31-2, 47, 55, 116, 125, 142-3.
Gómez de Alvarado, xxxviii, 51-4, 149, 166, 169, 201, 235 and *n.*, 236, 276; dies at Vilcas, 284; is buried at Guamanga, 284.
— the younger, 196 and *n.*, 197-8.
Gómez, Baltasar, 102; executed, 286.
— **Hernández**, 13, 15, 16.
— **Pero**, secretary, 111 and *n.* (error for **Pero López**).
— *de Luna*, 105-6; wounded, 110.
Gómez de Tordoya, 106, 108 *n.*, 128-31, 133; appointed Campmaster, 134; 135, 152, 154, 160, 174, 186-7; family relationships of, 187 *n.*; 188, 192, 194, 199, 203, 233, 243, 252; fatally wounded in the battle, 278; 282; his death and burial, 284 and *n.*
González de Benavides, Gil, 351.
- Görgona, La**, island, 85.
Gran Chaco, *cf.* xxvii, 323 *n.*, 334 *n.*
Greciano, Juan, 11, 12.
Guamanga, city or town of (called Ayacucho since 1824), 50, 51, 117 *n.*, 126, 144, 151, 164-5, 174, 207-8, 214, 239 and *n.*, 237, 239-41, 244, 247, 255-6, 260, 262, 265-6, 270-1, 273, 285-7; called "of the Victory," 288; 289, 293.
Guanacas, natives of Jauja province, 167, 170-1, 236, 254.
Guanuco, province and town, 51-2, 120-1, 144.
Guaraz, 50, 176-7, 186, 188, 192,

- 195, 197, 199, 200, 202-4, 210-11, 232, 236, 243.
Guayaquil, 55, 162.
Guaylas, 50, 118, 177, 179, 197-8, 245.
Guaytara, 148: route by, 266-7, 271.
Guevara, Diego Vasco de, 126-7, 165, 171, 191, 283.
 — Juan Pérez de. *See* Pérez.
 — Juan Vélez de. *See* Vélez.
Gutiérrez, Felipe, Captain, xliii, 181, 221, 283, appointed to lead an expedition, 305; 315-18, 323-7, 331, 333-6, 363; arrested by his subordinate, 364; 365-7.
 — Juan, 365.
 — de los Ríos, Diego, 80.
 — Malaver, Juan, 214, 227-8, 293.
Guzmán, Juan de, 53, 102, 329, 230; executed, 286.
 — Martín de, 283, 313, 371.
Henao, a tell-tale priest, 97-99.
Heredia, Nicolás de, Camp-master, 305; 315-17, 323, 327, 365; arrested, 366; 367-8.
Herencia, Francisco de, 97, 287.
Hernández, Gonzalo, assessor, 246, 254.
 — Martín, shipmaster, 87.
 — de la Torre, Gonzalo, 105, 110.
Herrada (or Rada), Juan de, a self-made leader, xxix-xli, 50 *n.*, 52-3, 81-2, 92 and *n.*, 93-5, 97, 99, 101-3, 107, 111, 113-15, 117-18, 123-6, 142-4, 146, 148-50, 155; discontent at his assumption of the generalship, 166; is nevertheless acknowledged, 168; falls ill, 169; 172, 174; his death at Jauja, 175; his character, 175 *n.*; 180, 216, 231, 241.
Hinojosa, Pedro de, 152-3, 282.
Hoces, Diego de, 102, 168, 227-8, 262, 280; executed, 286.
Holgún. *See* Alvarez Holgún, Pero.
Huallaga river, xxvii.
Huarina, 314, 315.
 — The War of (lost book by Cieza de León), xxv.
Hurtado, a servant, 105-6; wounded, 110 and *n.*; arrested, 116; 142-3; becomes ensign-general, 315.
Idiáquez, Lope de, 239, 245-7, 250, 254, 257-9, 261-2, 266, 268.
Illa Tupac, an Inca chieftain, is captured by Juan de Vargas, 293.
Inca, 322-3.
Inca, Atahualpa, xxiv.
 — Huayna Capac, xxviii *n.*, 266, 309, 322-3.
 — Manco, xxiv-xxx, xxvii, 1, 2, 240, 242, 250, 259, 260, 287, 292-3, 297.
 — Paula, 211, 282 *n.*
 — princess. Pizarro's daughter by, xxviii *n.*
 — Tupac, 322.
 — Yupanqui, 266, 322-3.
Indian Chiefs, vii. Ancora, 20; Chanvericua, 20; Chaparra, 125; 162; Chusecurua, 20; Delicola, 62, 64-5; Gua-e-i, 244; Maytama, 31; commits suicide, 32; Oeuzca, 13-15; Picara, 20; Pimani, 27; Samanés, 118; Tacurumbi, 47; Umbriza, 13.
Indians, frozen to death, 58; shocked at the murder of Pizarro, 114, 128; habitual oppression of, by Spaniards, 164, 178; addicted to lying, 176; girls a prey to soldiers, 283; slaughter and rob the wounded, 284; possess Spanish fowls, 310-17; of Tucumá, description of, 321; their attitude towards first Spaniards they saw, 310-20; atrocities committed on, by Christians, 338-9; enslavement of, prohibited by New Laws, 349; the Emperor's humane policy towards, 338, 348-55; restrictions on carrying loads, and on pearl diving, 350; rapid extinction of, 339.
Inscription on Pizarro's tomb at Lima, 112.
INTRODUCTION, xxv-xlvi.
Islands, Cuba, 358; Española, 339, 358, 360; del Gallo, 85-6; La Gorgona, 85; Mal Pelo, 85; of Palms, 45, 87-8, 90; Puca, 124; San Juan, 358.
Jaramillo, Juan, 351, 353 *n.*
Jauja, xxviii; original seat of Pizarro's government, 104 *n.*; 167, 169-74; death of Herrada at, 175; 176, 195, 204, 209, 211, 233-4, 236-42; river, 305.
Judges of the first Audiencia at Lima, names of, 370-1.
Juez de residencia, definition of, xlvii, 92 *n.*, 131, 155, 347.
Juries, Indians' territory, 152.
La Gama, Antonio de, licentiate, 127, 129, 131, 245-6, 254, 286, 289.

- Lambra Luopica**, 271.
Lambras Huayccu, 274 and *n.*; map; 282 *n.*
Las Casas, Fr. Bartolomé de, Bishop of Chiapa, 338.
Laso de la Vega, García (Garcilaso), xlv, 56 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 76 *n.*, 95 *n.*, 152-4, 187; family relationship to Gómez de Tordoya, 187 *n.*; 188, 194, 199, 203, 207, 233, 236, 238, 269, 272, 276, 280, 287-8, 293, 371.
Las Salinas, battle of, xxvii, xxxvi, 79, 115 *n.*, 126-7, 135, 163, 193, 210, 212, 314.
Laws. See *New Laws or Ordinances*.
Lemos, Countess of, a relative of Vaca de Castro, 202 and *n.*
León, city of, in Guanuco, 86, 293.
 — Cieza de. See Cieza.
 — García de, licentiate, 125, 158, 232-3, 277, 286.
Lepe, Juan de, a fool, 91.
Letters, D. Diego de Almagro to Vaca de Castro, 245-50; D. Diego's captains to the same, 251-3; signatories to the latter, 253; substance of Vaca de Castro's to D. Diego, and to D. Diego's captains, 258.
Leyva, Antonio de, 362.
Libro de Fundaciones, a lost work by Cieza de León, 7, 21, 30, 308.
 — *primero de cabildos de Lima*, xli.
Lima, city of, xxviii-xxx, xxxii-iii, xxxv, xxxviii-xli, 4, 49-52, 82, 84, 91, 103; Plan of, 104 *n.* and Plate; foundation of, 104 *n.* and xl-i; original city allotments in, 104 *n.* and Plate; 114, 116-18, 120, 122-4, 130-2, 135, 137, 140-1, 144-5, 151, 155-8, 161, 165, 167-8, 171, 180, 186, 192, 194-5, 197, 233-8, 243, 255, 257, 267, 271-2, 286, 288-9, 307, 310, 330, 337, 361-2, 366, 371-2, 375.
 — first *Audiencia* of, 370-1.
Limatambo, 294.
Lizcaino, a loyal servant of Sotelo, 219.
Loaysa, Alonso de, 153-4.
 — Antonio de, 279.
 — Cardinal, 80, 116, 213 and *n.*, 264.
López de Ayala, Pedro, 78, 315, 318.
 — Becerra, Diego, 261 (an error in the Spanish text for D. Pérez Becerra).
 — de Cáceres, Pedro, secretary, 105, 111 (wrongly quoted as Pero Gómez) and *n.*, 237, 254, 258, 268, 283, 313.
López Carilló, Iñigo, 120, 122-3, 155-6.
 — de Cazalla, Pedro, 106.
 — del Infierno, Pero, 35.
 — Zuñiga, Diego de, 152, 154.
Los Reyes, xxviii, xlvii, 49.
Losa, Enrique, 102; executed, 286.
Lozano, the Marquis' major-domo, 105-6.
Lugo, Alonso de, xxxv.
Luna, Don Alvaro de, Constable of Castille, 147.
Lunahuaná, 214, 256.
Machines, incident, 214-15.
Maestro Roa, 351 and *n.*
Malaver. See Gutiérrez Malaver.
Maldonado, Diego, 128, 157, 161, 183, 200, 203, 244, 247, 277, 282, 336, 371.
 — Francisco, 351, 353 *n.*
Manco. See *under* Inca.
Manjarrés, Alonso de, 105, 154.
manzanas (blocks of buildings in Lima), 104 *n.* and Plan.
Marañón river (upper Amazons), xxvii, 61 *n.*, 64 *n.*, 67, 316.
Marchena, 103, 152.
Mar dulce (Marañón or upper Amazons river), 61 *n.*, 64, 67.
Márquez, a priest, 243-4.
Marquis, the. See Pizarro, Don Francisco.
Martín de Alcántara, F., half brother of the Marquis Pizarro, 82, 84, 98, 105-7; assassination of, 109-10; 112; his widow, 150, 185.
Martín, Gonzalo, 162.
 — Lope, 256, 276, 283.
 — Roque (a Portuguese), killed and eaten, 8, 9; his savagery, 339.
Martincote. See Cote, Martin.
Maule, 167, 238, 261; river, 264.
Maytama. See Indian Chiefs.
Mazuelos, Rodrigo de, 112-13, 115.
Mejía, Hernán, an alderman of Sevilla, 82, 85.
Méndez, Diego, 102, 106, 181-2, 209, 222, 227-8, 275, 281-2; his flight and capture, 292-3; 296; his escape, treachery, and assassination, 303 *n.*
Mendieta, Lope de, 153, 282.
Mendoza, Alonso de, 23, 154, 283.
 — Alvaro de, 22, 49, 79.
 — Don Antonio de, Viceroy of New Spain, xlv, 361.

- Mendoza, Francisco de**, 321, 323-4, 333-7, 363-8.
 — **Gabriel de**, 153.
 — **Lope de**, 154.
 — **Pedro de**, 304, 316.
 "Men of Chile." *See* **Almagro** faction.
Mercadillo, Alonso, xxvii, 68.
Mercado, Diego Núñez. *See* **Núñez**.
 — the factor, 257-9, 262, 266, 268.
Mercy, Our Lady of, monasteries and churches of, at Cuzco, 127; at Lima, 113, 144; at Truxillo, 122.
Merlo, Sebastian de, secretary, 82, 86-7, 90, 138, 189, 197-8, 277; wounded, 281.
Mocaquaxa (Macagax), 328 and *n*.
Mompox, 11.
Montemayor, Alonso de, 5, 53, 83, 118, 144, 156-7, 163, 171, 192, 282-3.
 — **Pablo de**, 325-6.
Montenegro, of Lima, 103, 236; of **Arequipa**, 214.
Mora, Diego de, 94, 118-19, 183, 195.
 — **Juan de**, 120-1, 268, 283.
Moro province, 196 and *n*.
Mountain sickness, 196, 198.
Moyobamba, 120, 122, 144, 2, 288, and *Map*.
Muñoz, Juan, executed, 286.
 — **Miguel**, 34, 45.

Naboria, 349 and *n*.
 Names of officers of **Don Diego de Almagro's** force when leaving Lima, 168.
 — **Pizarro's** friends who were present at his assassination, 105.
 — of **Vaca de Castro's** principal staff officers at Chupas, 272; of his other officers, 282-4; of his **Almagrist** victims executed after the battle, 285-6.
Napo river, affluent of the **Marañón**, 61 *n*., 62 *n*.
Nava. *See* **Suer de Nava**.
Navarre, the Marshal of, 362.
Navarro, Antonio, 105, 277.
 — **Pedro**, 103.
New Castille (northern division of Peru, with part of what is now Ecuador), xxx, xxxii, 249, 257, 362.
New Granada, kingdom or realm of (later **Santa Fé**, and now part of Colombia and Ecuador), xxxvii, 35 *n*., 77, 339.
New Laws (often quoted as the "Ordinances") for the Indies, xliii-v, 309-10, 311 *n*.; reasons for enacting, and legislators of, 337-9; preamble to, 340-2; text of, 342-50; 360-2; given to **Núñez Vela** to enforce, 369; 370-5.
New Spain (México), 342, 353, 355, 360, 361.
New Toledo (Southern Peru with part of Chile), xxx-xxxii and *n*., 129, 246, 251, 257, 362.
Nicaragua, 339, 345.
Nidos, los, **Gonzalo de**, 130-1.
 Notes, separate, by **C. R. M.**, on certain Spanish terms, xli-vii; topography of **Chupas**, 274-5; officers with **Vaca de Castro** at the battle, 283-4.
Núñez, Rodrigo, 51, 217.
 — **Mercado, Diego**, *alcalde*, 79.
 — **de Pedroso**, **Francisco**, 148; arrested, 149; his banishment, 150; his return, 183; and escape, 184; 190.
 — **de Segura**, **Heinán**, 105, 154.
 — **Vela**, **Don Blasco**, first Viceroy of Peru, xxvi-vii, xliii; his unfitness, xlv; **Cieza's** account of him, xlv, 368; 309, 370, 373.

Ocampo, Rodrigo de, 7, 277.
Ocuzca. *See* **Indian Chiefs**.
Olivas, Juan de, 295.
Oñate, Pedro de, 220, 283; executed, 286.
 oranges, the first borne in Peru, 95.
Ordás, Diego de, 157, 351 and *n*.
 Ordinances. *See* **New Laws**.
Orduña, Pedro de, 122.
Orejón, Pedro, 86.
orejones, 323 and *n*.
Orellana, Francisco de, 58-9, 63; journeys down the **Marañón**, 66; and so on to Spain, where he is appointed *Adelantado*, 67; returns to the **Amazons** river and is lost, 67; 68, 69.
Orgóñez, Captain, xxxiii-v.
Orihuela, Francisco de, 116, 125.
Ortiz de Guzmán, Diego, 105-6, 112.
 — **de Zarate, Juan**, xlii, 105-7, 110 *n*., 283.
Osorio, Captain, 35, 37; his death, 38; 39.
 Overtures for a peaceful settlement of claims, to avoid battle, 245-63; their failure and its causes, 263.

- Pachacama party** or faction, adherents of Pizarro as opposed to Almagrists or "men of Chile," 83, 86, 170, 184, 216, 255, 264, 270, 281.
- Paéz**, 35, 41.
- **de Laserna**, licentiate, 81.
- Pallas**, Inca ladies, 270.
- Pallas Indians**, 162.
- Palms**, isle of, 45, 87-8, 90.
- Palomino**, Juan Alonso, of Guamanga, 136, 176, 247; *alcalde* of Lima, 361, 371-2.
- Panamá**, xlii, 5, 7, 8, 44, 77, 80-1, 85-91, 157, 159, 287, 309-10, 361; *Audiencia* of, *see Audiencia*.
- Parcos**, 165, 255.
- Partida**, law of, 266.
- Pasto**, 6, 55, 158.
- Paucura**, province, 19, 27-8.
- Paz**, La, 150, *and see* Chuquiapu.
- Peña**, Alonso de, 89 *u.*, 139 *u.*
- **Cristóbal** de, 89, 139.
- Peralta**, Don Diego de, of La Paz, banished, 150; 161.
- Perdomo**, Luis, *alcalde* of Plata, 152-3.
- Perero**, Sancho, of Cáceres, 132-4, 152-3.
- Pereyra**, Gonzalo, 168; ensign-general, 208.
- Pérez**, Francisco, executed, 286.
- **Juan**, 105, 210; executed, 286; 290.
- **Becerra**, Diego, 103, 218; a turncoat, 261 (printed López in error for Pérez); 318.
- **de Esquivel**, Alonso, 105.
- **de Guevara**, Juan, 122, 144, 237, 288.
- Pero Alvarez**. *See* Alvarez Holguín, Pedro.
- Peroanzures**. *See* Anzures de Camportelondo, Pedro.
- Pescado**, village and river, 8.
- Picado**, Antonio, secretary to Pizarro, 3, 55, 84, 91, 98, 105, 111-12, 115; is captured, 116, 124, 126; is put to the torture, married, and beheaded, 142-4.
- Picara**. *See* Indian Chiefs.
- province, 19-22, 24, 27.
- Picoy**, village, 255.
- Pimentel**, Antonio, 17, 22-3.
- Pineda**. *See* Díaz de Pineda.
- pitfalls with spikes, 18.
- Piura**, 83, 155, 184.
- pitahay**, the "peach palm" [*Guilielma speciosa*, Mart.], 16, 30.
- Pizarro**, Don Francisco, the Marquis (generally quoted as "The Marquis" simply), xxvii-x, xxxii-v, xxxvii-xlii, 1-3, 6, 8, 12, 44, 47, 49-54, 80-5, 91-5 and *u.*, 96 and *u.*, 97-101; assassination of, 103-9 and *u.*; 110 and *u.*; disposal of his body, 111 and *u.*, and 147; 112-14, 116, 118, 120-4, 126-34, 139-42, 145, 147, 151, 155, 157-61, 163, 174, 179, 182, 184; his children, 185; 190, 192, 194, 200, 204-5, 212, 216, 226, 230-1, 234, 241, 264, 267, 282-3, 285, 292, 299, 307, 311, 337, 354.
- Pizarro**, Gonzalo, xxvii, xxix, xxxii, 1-3; appointed Governor of Quito, 54; leads an expedition in search of *El Dorado*, 55-77; sufferings of his party in the Canela country, chaps. xxi, xxii, lxxxi; 162, 289-92, 306-7, 310-13, 330, 339, 366, 372.
- **Hernando**, xxvii, xxxii-viii and *u.*, 259, 297.
- Juan**, xxxii.
- Plasencia**, Bishop of, his expedition under Camargo, 136-7 and *u.*
- Plata**, town of, 1, 4, 84, 132-4, 136, 151-2, 163, 179, 181, 188, 209, 314, 316.
- **Rio de la**, river and region, 151, 304 and *u.*, 305, 315-16, 328.
- Plaza (maior)** at Lima, xli, 103-4 *u.* and Pl.; 106, 111.
- Pomacocha**, 265.
- Popayán**, city of, xxviii, 5, 6, 8 *u.*, 34-5, 38-9, 41, 45, 54 *u.*, 75, 78, 138-41, 157-60, 339, 360.
- Porco**, silver mines at, 151, 153, 182, 209.
- Potosí**, 268.
- Pozo**, province, 19-21, 24-8, 34.
- Pozos** Indians, 22, 26.
- Presca**, Domingo de la, 53, 82.
- Prescott**, Mr., xxvi, xxxi and *u.*, xxxviii, xlii, xliii, 95 *u.*, 96 *u.*, 175 *u.*, 274 *u.*, 301 *u.*
- Puelles**, Pedro de, 55-6, 160, 293.
- Puertocarrero**, Pedro, 84, 126-30, 133, 165, 207, 268, 282.
- Puerto Viejo**, 55, 162.
- Quijos**, Indians and their province, 55, 57.
- Quimbaya** province, 34, 46.
- Quito**, bishop-elect of. *See* Díaz de Arias.
- Quito**, city of, xxviii, 2, 6, 7, 34, 54-6, 58, 64-5, 75, 125, 138, 140, 156, 158-62, 164, 179, 182-4, 186, 190-2,

- 205, 268, 290-1, 307, 309, 311, 314.
 — War of (book), xxv-vi.
- Rada, 175 *n.* See Herrada.
regidor, definition of, xlv; 152, 193, 330-1.
repartimiento, xxxix; definition of, xlv; 6, 20, 49-51, 78, 91, 265, 273, 295, 306, 335, 351, 353-4.
residencia, 10, 92 and *n.*, 116, 131, 343-4, 348. See also *Juez de residencia*.
- Riquelme, Alonso de, 102, 104 *n.*, 111, 115, 234, 330.
 Ríos, Pedro de los, 130, 133, 282.
 Rivera (or Ribera), Antonio de, 55, 57-8, 63, 73, 76, 112, 361, 371-2.
 — Hernando de, 132.
 — Nicolás de (*el moso*), 104 *n.*; (*el viejo*), 104 *n.*, 277.
 Robledo, Jorge, Captain, leads an expedition to Auzerna, 5-6, 8-10, 12-14, 17, 20; is wounded, 23; hanged and eaten, 23 *n.*; 27-8, 45-6, 49, 55, 78-9, 139, 158.
 Robles, Dr. Francisco, a judge of *Audiencia* at Panamá, 80-1.
 — Martin de, 133; appointed ensign-general, 134.
 Rodríguez Barragán, Juan, 102, 109 *n.*, 217, 240-1, 262, 282 *n.*; is hanged, 286.
 — de Camporredondo, Gaspar (brother of Pedro Anzures), 153, 170, 296-7, 307.
 — de Sosa, Hernán, *Comendador*, 5, 18, 22, 24-5; killed and eaten, 26; 31, 33.
 Rojas, Diego de, Captain, xxvii, xliii, 154, 207, 234, 236-7, 239, 255-6, 269, 272, 280, 285-6; is sub-leader of an expedition towards the Rio de la Plata, 305, 315-17; reaches Tucuman, 318-19; 320-1, 323, 325-7, 331; is wounded, 332; dies by arrow poison, 333; his character, 333; 334-6, 365.
 — Gabriel de, xliii, 116, 126-8, 131, 134-5, 150, 214, 297, 310.
 Ruiz, Domingo, a tell-tale priest, 101.
- Salazar, Rodrigo (surname omitted in error in eighth line), 293.
 Salcedo, Garcia de, 105-6.
 Salinas, las, battle of, xxvii, xxxvi, xliii, 79, 126-7, 135, 163.
- Salinas, las, The War of (book by Cieza de León), xxv, xxvii, 34.
 San Juan, city of, earlier called Santa Ana, 45-6, 49, 78.
 — river, 7, 44-5, 85, 94.
 — de la Vitoria, 4 and *n.*
 San Martín, Fr. Tomás de, 168-9, 185, 197-200.
 San Miguel, 55, 119-20, 125, 144, 155, 162, 184, 234, 236.
 San Millán, Pedro de, 102, 226 and *n.*, 227-8, 262; executed, 285.
 Sánchez, Francisco, Sergeant-major, 129, 136, 154.
 — Juan, executed, 286.
 — de Hinojosa, Ruy, 365.
 Santa valley, and ruins, 195.
 Santa Ana de los Caballeros, city of, 6, 12, 15; renamed "San Juan," 45-6, 49, 78.
 Santa Marta, river and city, 5, 8, 18, 21, 77.
 Santo Domingo, monastery of, at Cuzco, 181; at Lima, 111, 124, 185.
 Sardinas, Ancón de (a bay), 85-6, 90.
 Sarmiento, Hernando, 182, 184.
 — Pedro, a notary, 23.
 Saucedo, 53, 215, 275, 278, 280.
 Sayavedra, Juan de, 52, 83, 113, 166, 169, 236.
 Serra de Sequidano, Mancio, xlv.
 Silva, Diego de, 127, 129, 374.
 Slings in warfare, 21, 40, 42.
 Soconcho river, 334-6, 363; village, 336 *n.*
solares, or city allotments, at Lima, xli; original grantees of, 104 *n.* and *pl.*
 Sorio, Jerónimo de, 130, 136.
 Sosa. See Rodríguez de.
 Sotelo, Cristóbal de, an honourable Almagrist officer, xli, xlii, 52, 83, 92-3, 97, 114-15, 117-18, 123, 144-7, 167-9, 171; his prudence and popularity, 172-3; 180-1, 208-9, 211, 214-18; is treacherously slain, 219; 220-22, 224, 226, 230-1, 238, 241.
 Sotomayor, 337, 363, 365.
 Suárez, Ana, marries Picado the night before he is beheaded, 143.
 — Sergeant-major, 168, 245, 276, 278.
 — de Caravajal, Benito, licentiate, 53, 113, 234, 236, 280.
 — Illán, the factor, brother of Benito, 53, 113, 168-9, 234-5, 330.

- Suer de Nava**, Melchor, 5, 13, 18, 22-3, 28, 46-8.
- Suicide**, of an Indian captive girl, 16; of an Indian captive Chief, 32; of a number of Indians, 39.
- Turbano**, Jerónimo (Don Diego's envoy to Spain), 250.
- Tacurumbi**. *See* Indian Chiefs.
- Tambo**, an ancient Inca fortress, 176.
— Blanco, 118.
— *Tambos* (wayside rest houses), 309.
- Tupia**, 349 and *n.*
- Tello**, Juan, 168, 283; executed, 286.
- Tesuna** province, 334.
- tianguiz**, native market, 242.
- Tierra Firme**, 7, 44, 77, 79, 138, 289, 298, 309, 331, 339.
- Timaná**, 8, 34-5, 37-8.
- Tomebamba**, an Inca lodgment, 183-4.
- Tordoya**. *See* Gómez de Tordoya.
- Toro**, Alonso de, 165-6.
- Tovar**. *See* García de Tovar.
- Truxillo** (Trujillo), 3, 58, 118, 119, 122-3, 125, 127, 144, 155, 187, 192-6, 310.
- Tucumá** (Tucuman), 318 and *n.*, 319, 321-3, 325, 334, 366 *n.*
- Umbra** hill, 12.
- Umbrua**. *See* Indian Chiefs.
- Urabá**, 11.
- Uriaparia** river, 316.
- Vaca de Castro**, Don Cristóbal, President of the *Audiencia* of Panamá, and Governor of Peru, xxvii, xxxii and *n.*, xl, xlii, 79, 80; arrives in America at Nombre de Dios, 81; and proceeds to Panamá, 81; leaves for Peru, 81-2; 83-90, 96, 119, 121-4, 130-1, 137 and *n.*, 138-41, 144, 156-9; is accepted as Governor-general at Quito, 160; 161-7, 170, 174, 176-9, 182-206; acclaimed as Governor and Captain-general, 207; 210-11, 213, 223, 226, 231-42, 244-5, 251, 254-9, 262, 266-9, 271-3, 276; did not fight in person, 277, 279, 281-3, 285-9, 292-4; his avarice and vain glory, 295-6; 297-9, 304-13, 315, 330-1, 333, 361, 365-6, 371-5.
- Vadillo**, Juan de, licentiate, 6, 10 *n.*, 11, 339.
- Valdivieso**, Juan de, 157, 183.
- Valverde**, Fr. Vicente de, Bishop of Lima, 4, 50, 82, 124; killed at Puna by Indians, 125.
- Vanegas**, Ruy, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18, 49.
- Vargas**, Diego de, page to the Marquis, 106, 108 and *n.*; death of, 110.
— Juan de, 293.
- Vásquez**, Martín, 351, 353 *n.*
— Tomás, 129, 136.
- de Coronado, Francisco, 351, 352 *n.*
— de Tapia, Bernardino, 351, 353 *n.*
- Vega**, Garcilaso de la. *See* Laso de la Vega.
- Velasco**, Pedro de, 22-3.
- Vélez de Guevara**, Juan, bachelor, 128-9, 236, 277, 280, 286, 307, 330-1, 361, 371, 374.
- Verdugo**, Melchor, 155-6.
- Vergara**, Francisco de, 105; wounded, 110.
— Pedro de, 162-3, 182, 185, 188, 192-3, 196, 277, 280, 288.
- Viceroy of Peru**, the first, 192, 362, 368, 372-3, 375. *See also* Núñez Vela.
- Vilcas**, 245, 250, 253, 255-6, 259-60, 262, 266, 268, 293-4.
- Villacastin**, Francisco de, 130-1.
- Villalba**, 158, 312-13.
- Villalobos**, Dr., 5, 80-1.
- Villanueva**, Luis de, 181-2.
- Villaviciosa de Pasto**, 7, 160.
- Villegas**, 73, 125.
— Jerónimo de, 291.
- Vinaque**, 256.
- Viticos**, principal residence of the Inca Manco, 2, 240, 287, 297.
- Xaquixaguana**, 240-1.
- Yalcones** Indians, 35-6, 39, 41.
- yuca** (*Jatropha manihot*), an edible root, 64, 69-73.
- Yucay** river, 3; valley, 2, 3, 293, 359.
- Yupanqui**. *See* Inca.
- Zamarilla**. *See* Camarilla.
- Zumaque** valley, 58-9, 62-3.
- Zuñiga**, López de, Diego. *See* López de Zuñiga.



CHISWICK PRESS : CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND CO.
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

The Hakluyt Society.

(Founded 1846.)

1917.

President.

ALBERT GRAY, Esq., C.B., K.C.

Vice-Presidents.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD BELHAVEN AND STENTON.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD PECKOVER OF WISBECH.

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET THE RIGHT HON.

SIR EDWARD HOBART SEYMOUR, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., LL.D.

Treasurer.

EDWARD HEAWOOD, Esq.

Council.

BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY, Esq., I.S.O.	SIR CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
M. LONGWORTH DAMES, Esq.	ADMIRAL SIR ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM, K.C.B.
WILLIAM FOSTER, Esq., C.I.E.	ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY, Esq.
F. H. H. GUILLEMARD, Esq., M.D.	LIEUT.-COL. SIR MATTHEW NATHAN, G.C.M.G., R.E.
A. R. HINKS, Esq., F.R.S.	H. R. TEDDER, Esq.
SIR JOHN F. F. HORNER, K.C.V.O.	LIEUT.-COL. SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.
SIR EVERARD IM THURN, K.C.M.G., C.B.	BASIL HOME THOMSON, Esq., C.B.
SIR JOHN SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D.	SIR REGINALD TOWER, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.
SIR FREDERIC G. KENYON, K.C.B., F.R.A., Litt. D.	

Hon. Secretary.

J. A. J. DE VILLIERS, Esq.,
BRITISH MUSEUM, W.C.1

Clerk and Assistant Treasurer.

MR. SAMUEL JOHN EVIS,
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, KENSINGTON GORE, S.W.7.

Bankers in London.

MESSRS. BARCLAY & CO., LTD., 1, PALL MALL EAST, S.W.1.

Bankers in New York.

THE GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY OF NEW YORK, 140, BROADWAY.

Agent for Distribution and Sale of Volumes.

MR. BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET, W.1.

Annual Subscription.—One Guinea (in America, five dollars).

The Hakluyt Society, established in 1846, has for its object the printing of rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, Naval Expeditions, and other geographical records. Books of this class are of the highest interest to students of history, geography, navigation, and ethnology; and many of them, especially the original narratives and translations of the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, are admirable examples of English prose at the stage of its most robust development.

The Society has not confined its selection to the books of English travellers, to a particular age, or to particular regions. Where the original is foreign, the work is given in English, fresh translations being made, except where it is possible to utilise the spirited renderings of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The works selected for reproduction are printed (with rare exceptions) at full length. Each volume is placed in the charge of an editor especially competent—in many cases from personal acquaintance with the countries described—to give the reader such assistance as he needs for the elucidation of the text. As these editorial services are rendered gratuitously, *the whole of the amount received from subscribers is expended in the preparation of the Society's publications.*

One hundred volumes (forming Series I., see pages iv. to xiv.) were issued from 1846 to 1898; forty-two volumes of Series II. (see pages xv. to xviii.) have been issued in the nineteen years ending 1917. A brief index to these is given on pages xxi. to xxvii., and a list of works in preparation on page xx.

THE Annual Subscription of ONE GUINEA—entitling the member to the year's publications—is due on January 1, and may be paid to

Messrs. BARCLAY and CO., 1, Pall Mall East, London, S.W.1. ;
The GUARANTY TRUST CO., 140, Broadway, New York.

Members have the sole privilege of purchasing back or current issues of the Society; these tend to rise in value, and those which are out of print are now only to be obtained at high prices.

The present scale of charges is as follows :—

FIRST SERIES, <i>Sets</i> , omitting Nos. 1 to 14, 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 32, 36, 37, 39, and 42 (76 vols)		£40 0s. 0d.
<i>Single Copies</i> .—Nos. 29, 31, 34, 46, 47, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60 to 73, 77, 79, 80, 82 to 87, 90 to 94, 96, 97, 98, at		10s. 6d.
Nos. 28, 30, 41, 45, 48, 49, 50, 57, 74, 76, 78, 81, 88, 89, 95, 100, at		15s. 0d.
Nos. 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 33, 35, 38, 40, 43, 44, 54, 59, 75, 99, at		25s. 0d.
SECOND SERIES, Nos. 11 to 22, 28, 29, 31, 35, 39, at		10s. 6d.
Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 37, 38, 40, 42, at		15s. 0d.
Nos. 33, 34, 36, 41, at		20s. 0d.

All other issues of this Series are out of print.

Gentlemen desiring to be enrolled as members should send their names to the Hon. Secretary, with the form of Banker's Order enclosed in this Prospectus. Applications for back volumes should be addressed to the Society's Agent, MR. QUARITCH, 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W.1.

WORKS ALREADY ISSUED.

FIRST SERIES.

1847-1898.

1—The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt.,

In his Voyage into the South Sea in 1593. Reprinted from the edition of 1622, and edited by ADMIRAL CHARLES RAMSAY DRINKWATER BETHUNE, C.B. pp. xvi. 246. Index.

(First Edition out of print. See No. 57.) Issued for 1847.

2—Select Letters of Christopher Columbus,

With Original Documents relating to the Discovery of the New World. Translated and Edited by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. xc. 240. Index.

(First Edition out of print. See No. 43. Two copies only were printed on vellum, one of which is in the British Museum, C. 29. k. 14.)

Issued for 1847.

3—The Discovery of the Large, Rich, & Beautiful Empire of Guiana,

With a relation of the great and golden City of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado), &c., performed in the year 1595 by SIR WALTER RALEGH, Knt. . . . Reprinted from the edition of 1596. With some unpublished Documents relative to that country. Edited with copious explanatory Notes and a biographical Memoir by SIR ROBERT HERMANN SCHOMBURGK, Ph. D. pp. lxxv. xv. 1 Map. Index.

(Out of print. Second Edition in preparation.) Issued for 1848.

4—Sir Francis Drake his Voyage, 1595,

By THOMAS MAYNARDE, together with the Spanish Account of Drake's attack on Puerto Rico. Edited from the original MSS. by WILLIAM DESBOROUGH COOLEY. pp. viii. 65. (Out of print.) Issued for 1848.

5—Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West,

In search of a Passage to Cathay & India, 1496 to 1631. With selections from the early Records of . . . the East India Company and from MSS. in the British Museum. Edited by THOMAS RUNDALL. pp. xx. 259. 2 Maps.

(Out of print.) Issued for 1849.

6—The Historie of Travaille into Virginia Britannia,

Expressing the Cosmographie and Commodities of the Country, together with the manners and customs of the people, gathered and observed as well by those who went first thither as collected by WILLIAM STRACHEY, Gent., the first Secretary of the Colony. Now first edited from the original MS. in the British Museum by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. xxxvi. 203. 1 Map. 6 Illus. Glossary. Index.

(Out of print.) Issued for 1849.

7—Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America

And the Islands adjacent, collected and published by RICHARD HAKLUYT, Prebendary of Bristol, in the year 1582. Edited, with notes & an introduction by JOHN WINTER JONES, Principal Librarian of the British Museum. pp. xci. 171. 6. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index. (Out of print.) Issued for 1850.

8—Memorials of the Empire of Japon.

In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. (The Kingdome of Japonia. Harl. MSS. 6249.—The Letters of Wm. Adams, 1611 to 1617.) With a Commentary by THOMAS RUNDALL. pp. xxxviii. 186. 1 Map. 5 Illus.
(*Out of print.*) Issued for 1850.

9—The Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida.

By Don Ferdinando de Soto, & six hundred Spaniards his followers. Written by a Gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the action, and translated out of Portuguese by RICHARD HAKLUYT. Reprinted from the edition of 1611. Edited with Notes & an Introduction, & a Translation of a Narrative of the Expedition by LUIS HERNANDEZ DE BIEDMA, Factor to the same, by WILLIAM BRENCLEY RYE, Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum. pp. lxvii. 200. v. 1 Map. Index.
(*Out of print.*) Issued for 1851.

10—Notes upon Russia,

Being a Translation from the Earliest Account of that Country, entitled *Rerum Muscoviticarum Commentarii*, by the BARON SIGISMUND VON HERBERSTEIN, Ambassador from the Court of Germany to the Grand Prince Vasiley Ivanovich, in the years 1517 and 1526. Translated and Edited with Notes & an Introduction, by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. Vol. 1. pp. clxii. 116. 2 Illus.
(Vol. 2=No. 12.) (*Out of print.*) Issued for 1851.

11—The Geography of Hudson's Bay,

Being the Remarks of Captain W. COATS, in many Voyages to that locality, between the years 1727 and 1751. With an Appendix containing Extracts from the Log of Captain MIDDLETON on his Voyage for the Discovery of the North-west Passage, in H.M.S. "Furnace," in 1741-3. Edited by JOHN BARROW, F.R.S., F.S.A. pp. x. 147. Index.
(*Out of print.*) Issued for 1852.

12—Notes upon Russia.

(Vol. 1.=No. 10.) Vol. 2. pp. iv. 266. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.
(*Out of print.*) Issued for 1852.

13—A True Description of Three Voyages by the North-East,

Towards Cathay and China, undertaken by the Dutch in the years 1594, 1595 and 1596, with their Discovery of Spitzbergen, their residence of ten months in Novaya Zemlya, and their safe return in two open boats. By GERRIT DE VEER. Published at Amsterdam in 1598, & in 1609 translated into English by WILLIAM PHILIP. Edited by CHARLES TILSTONE BEKE, Ph.D., F.S.A. pp. cxlii. 291. 4 Maps. 12 Illus. Index.
(*Out of print.* See also No. 54.) Issued for 1853.

14—15—The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof.

Compiled by the Padre JUAN GONZALEZ DE MENDOZA, & now reprinted from the Early Translation of R. Parke. Edited by SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, Bart., M.P., F.R.S. With an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S., 2 vols. Index.
(Vol. 14 *out of print.*) Issued for 1854.

16—The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake.

Being his next Voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. [By SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, the Younger.] Collated with an unpublished Manuscript of Francis Fletcher, Chaplain to the Expedition. With Appendices illustrative of the same Voyage, and Introduction, by WILLIAM SANDYS WRIGHT VAUX, F.R.S., Keeper of Coins, British Museum. pp. xl. 295. 1 Map. Index.
(*Out of print.*) Issued for 1855.

17—The History of the Two Tartar Conquerors of China,

Including the two Journeys into Tartary of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, in the suite of the Emperor Kang-Hi. From the French of Père PIERRE JOSEPH D'ORLÉANS, of the Company of Jesus, 1688. To which is added Father Pereira's Journey into Tartary in the suite of the same Emperor. From the Dutch of NICOLAAS WITSEN. Translated and Edited by the EARL OF ELLESMERE. With an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. xv. vi. 153. Index.
(*Out of print.*) *Issued for 1855.*

18—A Collection of Documents on Spitzbergen and Greenland.

Comprising a Translation from F. MARTENS' Voyage to Spitzbergen, 1671; a Translation from ISAAC DE LA PEYRÈRE'S Histoire du Groenland, 1663, and God's Power and Providence in the Preservation of Eight Men in Greenland Nine Months and Twelve Days. 1630. Edited by ADAM WHITE, of the British Museum. pp. xvi. 288. 2 Maps. Index. *Issued for 1856.*

19—The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands,

Being the Second Voyage set forth by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. From the (rare) Edition of 1606. Annotated and Edited by BOLTON CORNEY. M.R.S.L. pp. xi. 83. 52. viii. 3 Maps. 3 Illus. Bibliography. Index.
(*Out of print.*) *Issued for 1856.*

20—Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century.

Comprising the Treatise, "The Russe Commonwealth" by DR. GILES FLETCHER, and the Travels of SIR JEROME HORSEY, Knt., now for the first time printed entire from his own MS. Edited by SIR EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, K.C.B., Principal Librarian of the British Museum. pp. cxxxiv. 392. Index. *Issued for 1857.*

21—History of the New World. By Girolamo Benzoni, of Milan.

Showing his Travels in America, from A.D. 1541 to 1556, with some particulars of the Island of Canary. Now first Translated and Edited by ADMIRAL WILLIAM HENRY SMYTH, K.S.F., F.R.S., D.C.L. pp. iv. 280. 19 Illus. Index. *Issued for 1857.*

22—India in the Fifteenth Century.

Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India in the century preceding the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; from Latin, Persian, Russian, and Italian Sources. Now first Translated into English. Edited with an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum. pp. xc. 49. 39. 32. 10. Index.
(*Out of print.*) *Issued for 1858.*

23—Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico,

In the years 1599-1602, with 4 Maps and 5 Illustrations. By SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN. Translated from the original and unpublished Manuscript, with a Biographical Notice and Notes by ALICE WILMERE. Edited by NORTON SHAW. pp. xcix. 48. *Issued for 1858.*

24—Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons, 1539, 1540, 1639,

Containing the Journey of GONZALO PIZARRO, from the Royal Commentaries of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega; the Voyage of Francisco de Orellana, from the General History of Herrera; and the Voyage of Cristoval de Acuña. Translated and Edited by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lxiv. 190. 1 Map. List of Tribes in the Valley of the Amazons. *Issued for 1859.*

25—Early Voyages to Terra Australis,

Now called Australia. A Collection of documents, and extracts from early MS. Maps, illustrative of the history of discovery on the coasts of that vast Island, from the beginning of the Sixteenth Century to the time of Captain Cook. Edited with an Introduction by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. cxix. 200. 13. 5 Maps. Index. *(Out of print.) Issued for 1859.*

26—Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand, A.D., 1403-6.

Translated for the first time with Notes, a Preface, & an introductory Life of Timour Beg, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lvi. 200. 1 Map. *Issued for 1860.*

27—Henry Hudson the Navigator, 1607-13.

The Original Documents in which his career is recorded. Collected, partly Translated, & annotated with an Introduction by GEORGE MICHAEL ASHER, LL.D. pp. ccxviii. 292. 2 Maps. Bibliography. Index. *Issued for 1860.*

28—The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre,

In search of El Dorado and Omagua, in 1560-61. Translated from Fray PEDRO SIMON'S "Sixth Historical Notice of the Conquest of Tierra Firme," 1627, by WILLIAM BOLLAERT, F.R.G.S. With an Introduction by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lii. 237. 1 Map. *Issued for 1861.*

29—The Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman,

A Knight of Seville, of the Order of Santiago, A.D. 1518 to 1543. Translated from an original & inedited MS. in the National Library at Madrid. With Notes and an Introduction by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxxv. 168. 1 Illus. *Issued for 1862.*

30—The Discoveries of the World

From their first original unto the year of our Lord 1555. By ANTONIO GALVANO, Governor of Ternate. [Edited by F. DE SOUSA TAVARES.] Corrected, quoted, & published in England by RICHARD HAKLUIT, 1601. Now reprinted, with the original Portuguese text (1563), and edited by ADMIRAL CHARLES RAMSAY DRINKWATER BETHUNE, C.B. pp. iv. viiii. 242. *Issued for 1862.*

31—Mirabilia Descripta. The Wonders of the East.

By FRIAR JORDANUS, of the Order of Preachers & Bishop of Columbum in India the Greater, circa 1330. Translated from the Latin Original, as published at Paris in 1839, in the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, of the Société de Géographie. With the addition of a Commentary, by COL. SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. pp. iv. xviii. 68. Index. *Issued for 1863.*

32—The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema

In Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, India, & Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508. Translated from the original Italian edition of 1510, with a Preface, by JOHN WINTER JONES, F.S.A., Principal Librarian of the British Museum, & Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by the REV. GEORGE PERCY BADGER. pp. cxi. 321. 1 Map. Index. *(Out of print.) Issued for 1863.*

33—The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon, A.D. 1532-50.

From the Gulf of Darien to the City of La Plata, contained in the first part of his Chronicle of Peru (Antwerp, 1554). Translated & Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xvi. lviii. 438. Index.

(Vol. 2 = No. 68.)

Issued for 1864.

34—Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila

In the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, & of the discovery of the South Sea and the Coasts of Peru and Nicaragua. Written by the Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxix. 88. 1 Map. Index.

Issued for 1865.

35—A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar

In the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, by DUARTE BARBOSA, a Portuguese. Translated from an early Spanish manuscript in the Barcelona Library, with Notes & a Preface, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. xi. 336. 2 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1865.

36-37—Cathay and the Way Thither.

Being a Collection of mediæval notices of China, previous to the Sixteenth Century. Translated and Edited by COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. With a preliminary Essay on the intercourse between China & the Western Nations previous to the discovery of the Cape Route. 2 vols. 3 Maps. 2 Illus. Bibliography. Index.

(*Out of print; see also Ser. II., Vol. 33.*) *Issued for 1866.*

38—The Three Voyages of Sir Martin Frobisher,

In search of a Passage to Cathaia & India by the North-West, A.D. 1576-8. By GEORGE BEST. Reprinted from the First Edition of HAKLUYT's Voyages. With Selections from MS. Documents in the British Museum & State Paper Office. Edited by ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD COLLINSON, K.C.B. pp. xxvi. 376. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1867.

39—The Philippine Islands,

Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the close of the 16th Century. By ANTONIO DE MORGÁ, 1609. Translated from the Spanish, with Notes & a Preface, and a Letter from Luis Vaez de Torres, describing his Voyage through the Torres Straits, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. xxiv. 431. Illus. Index.

(*Out of print.*) *Issued for 1868.*

40—The Fifth Letter of Hernán Cortes

To the Emperor Charles V., containing an Account of his Expedition to Honduras in 1525-26. Translated from the original Spanish by DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. pp. xvi. 156. Index.

Issued for 1868.

41—The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.

By the YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B. F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. Vol. I. (Books I.-IV.) pp. xi. 359. 1 Map. Index.

(Vol. 2. = No. 45.)

Issued for 1869.

42—The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama,

And his Viceroyalty, from the Lendas da India of GASPAR CORREA; accompanied by original documents. Translated from the Portuguese, with Notes & an Introduction, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. lxxvii. 430. xxxv. 3 Illus. Index.

(*Out of print.*) *Issued for 1869.*

43—Select Letters of Christopher Columbus,

With other Original Documents relating to his Four Voyages to the New World. Translated and Edited by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. Second Edition. pp. iv. 142. 3 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.

(First Edition=No. 2.)

Issued for 1870.

44—History of the Imâms and Seyyids of 'Omân,

By SALÎL-IBN-RAZÎK, from A.D. 661-1856. Translated from the original Arabic, and Edited, with a continuation of the History down to 1870, by the REV. GEORGE PERCY BADGER, F.R.G.S. pp. cxxviii. 435. 1 Map. Bibliography. Index.

Issued for 1870.

45—The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas.

By the YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. Translated & Edited with Notes, an Introduction, & an Analytical Index, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. Vol. II. (Books V.-IX.) pp. 553.

(Vol. I.=No. 41.)

Issued for 1871.

46—The Canarian,

Or Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canarians in the year 1402, by Messire JEAN DE BÉTHENCOURT, Kt. Composed by Pierre Bontier and Jean le Verrier. Translated and Edited by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. lv. 229. 1 Map. 2 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1871.

47—Reports on the Discovery of Peru.

I. Report of FRANCISCO DE XERES, Secretary to Francisco Pizarro. II. Report of MIGUEL DE ASTETE on the Expedition to Pachacamac. III. Letter of HERNANDO PIZARRO to the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo. IV. Report of PEDRO SANCHO on the Partition of the Ransom of Atahualpa. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxii. 143. 1 Map. *Issued for 1872.*

48—Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas.

Translated from the original Spanish MSS., & Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xx. 230. Index.

Issued for 1872.

49—Travels to Tana and Persia,

By JOSAFÀ BARBARO and AMEROGIO CONTARINI. Translated from the Italian by WILLIAM THOMAS, Clerk of the Council to Edward VI., and by E. A. ROY, and Edited, with an Introduction, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. xi. 175. Index. A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia, in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries. Translated and Edited by CHARLES GREY. pp. xvii. 231. Index.

Issued for 1873.

50—The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolo & Antonio Zeno,

To the Northern Seas in the Fourteenth century. Comprising the latest known accounts of the Lost Colony of Greenland, & of the Northernmen in America before Columbus. Translated & Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A., Keeper of Maps, British Museum, Sec. R.G.S. pp. ciii. 64. 2 Maps. Index.

Issued for 1873.

51—The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse in 1547-55,

Among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil. Translated by ALBERT TOOTAL, of Rio de Janeiro, and annotated by SIR RICHARD FRANCIS BURTON, K.C.M.G. pp. xcvi. 169. Bibliography.

Issued for 1874.

52—The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan. 1518-1521.
Translated from the Accounts of FIGAFETTA and other contemporary writers.
Accompanied by original Documents, with Notes & an Introduction, by LORD
STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. lx. 257. xx. 2 Maps. 5 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1874.

53—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,
Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774,
and Edited by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum.
Vol. 1. pp. lx. 256. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. (Index in No. 69.)

(Vol. 2=No. 55. Vol. 3=No. 62. Vol. 4=No. 69.) *Issued for 1875.*

**54—The Three Voyages of William Barents to the Arctic Regions, in 1594,
1595, & 1596.**

By GERRIT DE VEER. Edited, with an Introduction, by Lieut. KOOLEMANS
BEYNEN, of the Royal Netherlands Navy. Second Edition. pp. clxxiv. 289.
2 Maps. 12 Illus.

Issued for 1876.

(First Edition=No. 13.)

55—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,
Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774,
with Notes and an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., of
the British Museum. Vol. 2. pp. cxxiv. 242. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. (Index in
No. 69.)

Issued for 1875.

(Vol. 1=No. 53. Vol. 3=No. 62. Vol. 4=No. 69.)

56—The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Knt., to the East Indies,
With Abstracts of Journals of Voyages to the East Indies, during the Seven-
teenth century, preserved in the India Office, & the Voyage of Captain JOHN
KNIGHT, 1606, to seek the North-West Passage. Edited by SIR CLEMENTS
R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxii. 314. Index.

Issued for 1877.

57—The Hawkins' Voyages

During the reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I. [Second
edition of No. 1.] Edited by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S.,
ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lii. 453. 1 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1877.

(First Edition=No. 1).

**58—The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, a Native of Bavaria,
in Europe, Asia, & Africa.**

From his capture at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 to his escape and return
to Europe in 1427. Translated from the Heidelberg MS., Edited in 1859 by
Professor KARL FR. NEUMANN, by Commander JOHN BUCHAN TELFER,
R.N.; F.S.A. With Notes by Professor P. BRUUN, & a Preface, Introduction,
& Notes by the Translator & Editor. pp. xxxii. 263. 1 Map. Bibliography.
Index.

Issued for 1878.

59—The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator.

Edited by ADMIRAL SIR ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM, K.C.B.
pp. xcv. 392. 2 Maps. 15 Illus. Bibliography. Index.

Issued for 1878.

The Map of the World, A.D. 1600.

Called by Shakspeare "The New Map, with the Augmentation of the Indies."
To illustrate the Voyages of John Davis. *Issued for 1878.*

60-61—The Natural & Moral History of the Indies.

By Father JOSEPH DE ACOSTA. Reprinted from the English Translated Edition of Edward Grimston, 1604; and Edited by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. Vol. 1, The Natural History Books, I.-IV. pp. xlv. 295. Vol. 2, The Moral History Books, V.-VII. pp. xiii. 295-551. Index. *Issued for 1879.*

Map of Peru.

To Illustrate Nos. 33, 41, 45, 60, and 61. *Issued for 1879.*

62—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,

Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes & an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., of the British Museum. Vol. 3. pp. xlv. 308. 3 Maps. 3 Illus. (Index in No. 69.) *Issued for 1880.*

63—The Voyages of William Baffin, 1612-1622.

Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lix. 192. 8 Maps. 1 Illus. Index. *Issued for 1880.*

64—Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia

During the years 1520-1527. By Father FRANCISCO ALVAREZ. Translated from the Portuguese & Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY. pp. xxvii. 416. Index. *Issued for 1881.*

65—The History of the Bermudas or Summer Islands.

Attributed to Captain NATHANIEL BUTLER. Edited from a MS. in the Sloane Collection, British Museum, by General SIR JOHN HENRY LEFROY, R.A., K.C.M.G., C.B., F.R.S. pp. xii. 327. 1 Map. 3 Illus. Glossary. Index. *Issued for 1881.*

66-67—The Diary of Richard Cocks,

Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence (Add. MSS. 31,300-1, British Museum). Edited by SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B., Director of the British Museum. Vol. 1. pp. liv. 349. Vol. 2, pp. 368. Index. *Issued for 1882.*

68—The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru, 1532-1550

By PEDRO DE CIEZA DE LEON. 1554. Translated and Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. lx. 247. Index. *Issued for 1883.*
(Vol. 1 = No. 33.)

69—The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque,

Second Viceroy of India. Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774, with Notes & an Introduction, by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., of the British Museum. Vol. 4. pp. xxxv. 324. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. Index to the 4 vols. *Issued for 1883.*
(Vol. 1 = No. 53. Vol. 2 = No. 55. Vol. 3 = No. 62.)

70-71—The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies.

From the Old English Translation of 1598. The First Book, containing his Description of the East. In Two Volumes, Edited, the First Volume, by the late ARTHUR COKE BURNELL, Ph.D., C.I.E., Madras C. S.; the Second Volume, by PIETER ANTON TIELE, of Utrecht. Vol. 1. pp. lii. 307. Vol. 2. pp. xv. 341. Index. *Issued for 1884.*

72-73—Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia,

By ANTHONY JENKINSON and other Englishmen, with some account of the first Intercourse of the English with Russia and Central Asia by way of the Caspian Sea. Edited by EDWARD DELMAR MORGAN, and CHARLES HENRY COOTE, of the British Museum. Vol. 1. pp. clxii. 176. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. Vol. 2. pp. 177-496. 2 Maps. 1 Illus. Index. *Issued for 1885.*

74-75—The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.,

Afterwards SIR WILLIAM HEDGES, during his Agency in Bengal; as well as on his Voyage out and Return Overland (1681-1687). Transcribed for the Press, with Introductory Notes, etc., by R. BARLOW, and Illustrated by copious Extracts from Unpublished Records, etc., by Col. Sir HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B., LL.D. Vol. 1. The Diary, with Index. pp. xii. 265. Vol. 2. Notices regarding Sir William Hedges, Documentary Memoirs of Job Charnock, and other Biographical & Miscellaneous Illustrations of the time in India. pp. ccclx. 287. 18 Illus. *Issued for 1886.*
(Vol. 3 = No. 78.)

76-77—The Voyage of François Pyrard, of Laval, to the East Indies,

The Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil. Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619, and Edited, with Notes, by ALBERT GRAY, K.C., assisted by HARRY CHARLES PURVIS BELL, Ceylon C. S. Vol. 1. pp. lviii. 1 Map. 11 Illus. Vol. 2. Part I. pp. xlvii. 287. 7 Illus. *Issued for 1887.*
(Vol. 2. Part II. = No. 80.)

78—The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.

Vol. 3. Documentary Contributions to a Biography of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, with Collections on the Early History of the Company's Settlement in Bengal, & on Early Charts and Topography of the Hugli River. pp. ccxlii. 1 Map. 8 Illus. Index to Vols. 2, 3. *Issued for 1888.*
(Vols. 1. 2 = Nos. 74, 75.)

79—Tractatus de Globis, et eorum usu.

A Treatise descriptive of the Globes constructed by Emery Molyneux, and Published in 1592. By ROBERT HUES. Edited, with annotated Indices & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. To which is appended,

Sailing Directions for the Circumnavigation of England,

And for a Voyage to the Straits of Gibraltar. From a Fifteenth Century MS. Edited, with an Account of the MS., by JAMES GAIRDNER, of the Public Record Office; with a Glossary by EDWARD DELMAR MORGAN. pp. l. 229. 37. 1 Illus. 1 Map. *Issued for 1888.*

80—The Voyage of François Pyrard, of Laval, to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil.

Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619, and Edited, with Notes, by ALBERT GRAY, K.C., assisted by HARRY CHARLES PURVIS BELL, Ceylon Civil Service. Vol 2. Pt. II. pp. xii. 289-572. 2 Maps. Index. *Issued for 1889.*
(Vol 1. Vol. 2. Pt. I. = Nos. 76, 77.)

81—The Conquest of La Plata, 1535-1555.

I.—Voyage of ULRICH SCHMIDT to the Rivers La Plata and Paraguay, from the original German edition, 1567. II. The Commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. From the original Spanish Edition, 1555. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction, by H. E. DON LUIS L. DOMÍNGUEZ, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Argentine Republic. pp. xlii. 282. 1 Map, Bibliography Index. *Issued for 1889.*

82-83—The Voyage of François Leguat, of Bresse, 1690-98.

To Rodriguez, Mauritius, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope. Transcribed from the First English Edition, 1708. Edited and Annotated by Capt. SAMUEL PASFIELD OLIVER, (late) R.A. Vol. 1. pp. lxxxviii. 137. 1 Illus. 6 Maps. Bibliography. Vol. 2. pp. xviii. 433. 5 Illus. 5 Maps. Index.

Issued for 1890.

84-85—The Travels of Pietro della Valle to India.

From the Old English Translation of 1664, by G. HAVERS. Edited, with a Life of the Author, an Introduction & Notes by EDWARD GREY, late Bengal C. S. Vol. 1. pp. lvi. 192. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. Bibliography. Vol. 2. pp. xii. 193-456. Index.

Issued for 1891.

86—The Journal of Christopher Columbus

During his First Voyage (1492-93), and Documents relating to the Voyages of JOHN CABOT and GASPARD CORTE REAL. Translated, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. liv. 259. 3 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1892.

87—Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant.

I.—The Diary of Master THOMAS DALLAM, 1599-1600. II.—Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. JOHN COVEL, 1670-1679. With some Account of the Levant Company of Turkey Merchants. Edited by JAMES THEODORE BENT, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. pp. xlv. 305. Illus. Index.

Issued for 1892.

88-89—The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe, of Hull, and Captain Thomas James, of Bristol,

In Search of a N.-W. Passage, 1631-32; with Narratives of the Earlier North-West Voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Weymouth, Hall, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkrigge, & others. Edited, with Notes & an Introduction, by ROBERT MILLER CHRISTY, F.L.S. Vol. 1. pp. ccxxxi. 259. 2 Maps. 2 Illus. Vol. 2. pp. viii. 261-681. 3 Maps. 1 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1893.

90—The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci

And other Documents illustrative of his Career. Translated, with Notes & an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xlv. 121. 1 Map. Index.

Issued for 1894.

91—Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Straits of Magellan, 1579-80,

Translated and Edited, with Illustrative Documents and Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S., ex-Pres. R.G.S. pp. xxx. 401. 1 Map. Index.

Issued for 1894.

92-93-94—The History and Description of Africa.

And of the Notable Things Therein Contained. Written by AL-HASSAN IBN-MOHAMMED AL-WAZZ AL-FASI, a Moor, baptized as GIOVANNI LEONE, but better known as LEO AFRICANUS. Done into English in the year 1600 by John Pory, and now edited with an Introduction & Notes, by Dr. ROBERT BROWN. In 3 Vols. Vol. 1. pp. viii. cxi. 224. 4 Maps. Vol. 2. pp. 225-698. Vol. 3. pp. 699-1119. Index.

Issued for 1895.

95—The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea.

Written by GOMES EANNES DE AZURARA. Now first done into English and Edited by CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S., and EDGAR PRESTAGE, B.A. Vol. 1. (Ch. i.—xl.) With Introduction on the Life & Writings of the Chronicler. pp. lxxvii. 127. 3 Maps. 1 Illus. (Vol. 2 = No. 100.) *Issued for 1896.*

96-97—Danish Arctic Expeditions, 1805 to 1820. In Two Books.

Book 1. The Danish Expeditions to Greenland, 1605-07; to which is added Captain JAMES HALL's Voyage to Greenland in 1612. Edited by CHRISTIAN CARL AUGUST GOSCH. pp. xvi. cxvii. 205. 10 Maps. Index.

Issued for 1896.

Book 2. The Expedition of Captain JENS MUNK to Hudson's Bay in search of a North-West Passage in 1619-20. Edited by CHRISTIAN CARL AUGUST GOSCH. pp. cxviii. 187. 4 Maps. 2 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1897.

98—The Topographia Christiana of Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian Monk.

Translated from the Greek and Edited by JOHN WATSON McCRINDLE, LL.D., M.R.A.S. pp. xii. xxvii. 398. 4 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1897.

99—A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499.

By an unknown writer. Translated from the Portuguese, with an Introduction and Notes, by ERNEST GEORGE RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S. pp. xxxvi. 250. 8 Maps. 23 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1898.

100—The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea.

Written by GOMES EANNES DE AZURARA. Now first done into English and Edited by CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S., and EDGAR PRESTAGE, B.A. Vol. 2. (Ch. xli.—xcvii.) With an Introduction on the Early History of African Exploration, Cartography, &c. pp. cl. 362. 3 Maps. 2 Illus. Index.

Issued for 1898.

(Vol. 1 = No. 95.)

WORKS ALREADY ISSUED.

SECOND SERIES, 1899, etc.

- 1-2—**The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-19.**
 Edited from Contemporary Records by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A., of the India Office. 2 vols. Portrait, 2 Maps, & 6 Illus. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1899.
- 3—**The Voyage of Sir Robert Dudley to the West Indies and Guiana in 1594.**
 Edited by GEORGE FREDERIC WARNER, Litt.D., F.S.A., Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum. pp. lxxi. 104. Portrait, Map, & 1 Illus. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1899.
- 4—**The Journeys of William of Rubruck and John of Plan de Carpine To Tartary in the 13th century.** Translated and Edited by H. E. the Hon. WM. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL. pp. lvi. 304. Bibliography. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1900.
- 5—**The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan in 1613.**
 Edited by H. E. SIR ERNEST MASON SATOW, G.C.M.G. pp. lxxxvii. 242. Map, & 5 Illus. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1900.
- 6—**The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex.**
 Edited by ERNEST GEORGE RAVENSTEIN, F.R.G.S. pp. xx. 210. 2 Maps. Bibliography. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1900.
- 7-8—**The Voyage of Mendana to the Solomon Islands in 1568.**
 Edited by the LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY and BASIL THOMSON. 2 vols. 5 Maps. & 33 Illus. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1901.
- 9—**The Journey of Pedro Teixeira from India to Italy by land, 1604-05:**
 With his Chronicle of the Kings of Ormus. Translated and Edited by WILLIAM FREDERIC SINCLAIR, late Bombay C. S., with additional Notes, &c., by DONALD WILLIAM FERGUSON. pp. cvii. 292. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1901.
- 10—**The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541, as narrated by CASTANHOSO and BERNUDEZ.** Edited by RICHARD STEPHEN WHITEWAY, late I.C.S. With a Bibliography, by BASIL H. SOULSBY, F.S.A., Superintendent of the Map Department, British Museum. pp. cxxxii. 296. Map, & 2 Illus. Bibliography. Index.
(Out of print.) Issued for 1902.
- 11—**Early Dutch and English Voyages to Spitzbergen in the Seventeenth Century,**
 Including HESSEL GERRITZ. "Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberghe." 1613, translated into English, for the first time, by BASIL H. SOULSBY, F.S.A., of the British Museum: and JACOB SEGERSZ. van der Brugge, "Journael of Dagh Register," Amsterdam, 1634, translated into English, for the first time, by J. A. J. DE VILLIERS, of the British Museum. Edited, with introductions and notes by SIR MARTIN CONWAY. pp. xvi. 191. 3 Maps, & 3 Illus. Bibliography. Index.
Issued for 1902.

12—The Countries round the Bay of Bengal.

Edited, from an unpublished MS., 1669-79, by THOMAS BOWREY, by Col. SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bart., C.I.E. pp. lvi. 387. 19 Illus. & 1 Chart. Bibliography. Index. *Issued for 1903.*

13—The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez

in the Ship of the Line San Lorenzo, with the Frigate Santa Rosalia in company, to Easter Island, in 1770-1771. Preceded by an Extract from Mynheer JACOB ROGGEVEEN'S Official Log of his Discovery of and Visit to Easter Island in 1722. Translated, Annotated, and Edited by BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY, Companion of the Imperial Service Order. With a Preface by Admiral SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE, G.C.B. 3 Maps & 4 Illus. Bibliography. Index. pp. lxxvii. 176. *Issued for 1903.*

14, 15—The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606.

Translated and Edited by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., Pres. R.G.S., President of the Hakluyt Society. With a Note on the Cartography of the Southern Continent, and a Bibliography, by BASIL H. SOULSBY, F.S.A., Superintendent of the Map Department, British Museum. 2 vols. 3 Maps. Bibliography. Index. *Issued for 1904.*

16—John Jourdain's Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies, 1608-1617.

(Sloane MS. 858, British Museum). Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A., of the India Office. pp. lxxxii. 394. With Appendices, A—F, and a Bibliography, by BASIL H. SOULSBY, F.S.A. 4 Maps. Index. *Issued for 1905.*

17—The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667.

(Bodleian Library. Rawl. MSS. A. 315.) Vol. I. Travels in Europe, 1608-1628. Edited by Lieut.-Col. SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bart., C.I.E., Editor of "A Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal." 3 Maps & 3 Illus. With a Bibliography, alphabetically arranged. Index. pp. lxiii. 284. *Issued for 1905.*

(Vol. II=No. 35.)

18—East and West Indian Mirror.

By JORIS VAN SPEILBERGEN. An Account of his Voyage Round the World in the years 1614 to 1617, including the Australian Navigations of JACOB LE MAIRE. Translated from the Dutch edition, "Oost ende West-Indische Spiegel, &c.," *Nicolaes van Geelkercken: Leyden*, 1619, with Notes and an Introduction, by JOHN A. J. DE VILLIERS, of the British Museum. With a Bibliography & Index by BASIL H. SOULSBY, F.S.A. 26 Illus. & Maps. Index. pp. lxi. 272. *Issued for 1906.*

19, 20.—A New Account of East India and Persia.

In eight Letters, being Nine Years' Travels, begun 1672, and finished 1681. By JOHN FRYER, M.D., Cantabrig., and Fellow of the Royal Society. Printed by R. K. for R. Chiswell; at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, London, 1698. Fol. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by WILLIAM CROOKE, B.A., Bengal Civil Service (retired), Editor of "Hobson Jobson," &c., &c. Vol. I-II. (Vol. I) Map & 6 Illus. pp. xxxviii. 353; (Vol. II) Map. pp. 371. *Issued for 1909 and 1912.*

(Vol. III=No. 39.)

21—The Guanches of Tenerife, The Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria.

With the Spanish Conquest and Settlement. By the FRIAR ALONSO DE ESPINOSA, of the Order of Preachers. 1594. Translated and Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B., President of the Hakluyt Society. With a Bibliography of the Canary Islands, A.D. 1341-1907, chronologically arranged, with the British Museum press-marks, and an alphabetical list of authors, editors, and titles. 2 Maps, by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, and 4 Illus. Index. pp. xxvi. 221. *Issued for 1907.*

22—History of the Incas.

By PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA. 1572. From the MS. sent to King Philip II. of Spain, and now in the Göttingen University Library. And The Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru. 1571. By Captain BALTASAR DE OCAMPO. 1610. (British Museum Add. MSS. 17, 585.) Translated and Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B. 2 Maps and 10 Illus. Index. pp. xxii. 395.

——— Supplement. A Narrative of the Vice-Regal Embassy to Vilcabambal 1571, and of the Execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru, Dec. 1571. By FRIAR GABRIEL DE OVIEDO, of Cuzco, 1573. Translated by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B. Index. pp. 397-412. *Issued for 1907.*

23, 24, 25—Conquest of New Spain.

The True History of the Conquest of New Spain. By BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO, one of its Conquerors. From the only exact copy made of the Original Manuscript. Edited and published in Mexico, by GENARO GARCIA, 1904. Translated into English, with Introduction and Notes, by ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, M.A., Hon. Professor of Archaeology, National Museum, Mexico. Vols. I-III. (Vol. I) pp. lxxv. 396. 3 Maps. 15 Illus.; (Vol. II) pp. xvi. 343. Map and 13 Panoramas and Illus.; (Vol. III) pp. 38. 8 Maps and Plans in 12 sheets. *Issued for 1908 and 1910.*

(Vol. IV and V = Nos. 30 and 40.)

26, 27.—Storm van's Gravesande.

The Rise of British Guiana, compiled from his despatches, by C. A. HARRIS, C.B., C.M.G., Chief Clerk, Colonial Office, and J. A. J. DE VILLIERS, of the British Museum. 2 vols. 703 pp. 3 Maps. 5 Illus.

Issued for 1911.

28.—Magellan's Strait.

Early Spanish Voyages, edited, with Notes and Introduction, by Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B. pp. viii. 288. 3 Maps. 9 Illus.

Issued for 1911.

29.—Book of the Knowledge.

Book of the Knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships that are in the World. . . . Written by a Spanish Franciscan in the Middle of the XIV Century; published for the first time, with Notes, by MARCOS JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA. Translated and Edited by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B. With 20 Coloured Plates. pp. xiii. 85. *Issued for 1912.*

30.—Conquest of New Spain.

The True History of the Conquest of New Spain. By BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO. . . . Edited by GENARO GARCIA. Translated, with Notes, by ALFRED P. MAUDSLAY, M.A., Hon. Professor of Archaeology. Vol. IV. pp. xiv. 395. 3 Maps and Plan. 3 Illus. *Issued for 1912.*

(Vols. I-III, V = Nos. 23-25, 40.)

31.—The War of Quito.

The War of Quito, by CIEZA DE LEON. Translated and Edited by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B. pp. xii. 212. *Issued for 1913.*

32.—The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti.

The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain during the years 1772-1776. Compiled, with Notes and an Introduction, by B. GLANVILL CORNEY, I.S.O. Vol. I. pp. lxxxviii. 363. 3 Charts, 8 Plans and Illus.

(Vol. II = No. 36.)

Issued for 1913.

33.—Cathay and the Way Thither.

Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Mediæval Notices of China. Translated and Edited by Colonel SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. New Edition, revised throughout by Professor HENRI CORDIER, de l'Institut de France. Vol. II. pp. xii. 367. Map & 6 Illus. *Issued for 1913.*
(Vols. I, III-IV = Nos. 38, 37 and 41.)

34.—New Light on Drake.

New Light on Drake. Spanish and Portuguese Documents relating to the Circumnavigation Voyage. Discovered, translated, and annotated by Mrs. ZELIA NUTTALL. pp. lvi. 443. 3 Maps and 14 Illus. *Issued for 1914.*

35.—The Travels of Peter Mundy.

The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667. Edited by SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bart., C.I.E. Vol. II. pp. lxxix. 437. 2 Maps and 29 Illus. *Issued for 1914.*
(Vol. I = No. 17.)

36.—The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti.

The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti. Edited by B. GLANVILLE CORNEY, I.S.O. Vol. II. pp. xlvii. 521. 8 Plans and Illus. *Issued for 1915.*
(Vol. I = No. 32.)

37.—Cathay and the Way Thither.

Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a Collection of Mediæval Notices of China previous to the XVIth century. Translated and edited by COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. A new edition by PROFESSOR HENRI CORDIER, de l'Institut de France. Vol. III. pp. xv. 270. Map and Portrait. *Issued for 1914.*
(Vols. I, II and IV = Nos. 38, 33 and 41.)

38.—Cathay and the Way Thither.

Cathay and the Way Thither. Being a collection of mediæval notices of China previous to the XVIth century. Translated and edited by COLONEL SIR HENRY YULE, K.C.S.I., R.E., C.B. A new edition by PROFESSOR HENRI CORDIER, de l'Institut de France. Vol. I. pp. xxiii. 318. Map and Portrait. *Issued for 1915.*
(Vols. II, III and IV = Nos. 33, 37 and 41.)

39.—A New Account of East India and Persia.

A New Account of East India and Persia. In eight Letters, being Nine Years' Travels, begun 1672, and finished 1681. By JOHN FRYER, M.D. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by WILLIAM CROOKE, B.A., Bengal Civil Service (retired). Vol. III and last. pp. viii. 271. *Issued for 1915.*
(Vols. I-II = Nos. 19, 20.)

40.—Conquest of New Spain.

The True History of the Conquest of New Spain. By BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO. Translated, with Notes, by A. P. MAUDSLAY. Vol. V and last. *Issued for 1916.*
Vols. I-IV = Nos. 23-25, 30.)

41.—Cathay and the Way Thither.

Cathay and the Way Thither. New edition. Vol. IV and last. *Issued for 1916.*
(Vols. I-III = Nos. 33, 37, 38.)

EXTRA SERIES.

1-12—The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, & Discoveries of the English Nation,

Made by Sea or Over-land to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeeres. By RICHARD HAKLUYT, Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ Church in Oxford. With an Essay on the English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century, by WALTER RALEIGH, Professor of the English Language in the University of Oxford. Index by Madame MARIE MICHON and Miss ELIZABETH CARMONT. 12 vols. James MacLehose & Sons: Glasgow, 1903-5. (*Out of print.*)

13—The Texts & Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis.

As printed for the first time by HAKLUYT in 1598, together with some shorter pieces. Edited by CHARLES RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S. pp. xx. 345. Index. University Press: Cambridge, 1903. (*Out of print.*)

14-33—Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes.

Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others. By SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D. 20 vols. Maps & Illus. With an Index by Madame MARIE MICHON, James MacLehose and Sons: Glasgow, 1905-7.

THE ISSUES FOR 1917 WILL BE:

SERIES II.

- Vol. 42. *La Guerra de Chupas*. By CIEZA DE LEON. Translated and edited by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.
- Vol. 43. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, by DUARTE BARBOSA, a Portuguese. A new translation by MR. LONGWORTH DAMES. Vol. I.

OTHER VOLUMES IN ACTIVE PREPARATION ARE:

- The Chronicle of Muntaner*. Translated and edited by LADY GOODENOUGH.
- Memorias Antiguas del Peru and Anales del Peru* by LIC. FERNANDO MONTESINOS. Translated and edited by PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS, M.A. Two Vols.
- Jons Olafssonar Indiafara*. Translated by MISS BERTHA PHILLPOTTS. Edited by SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E. Two Vols.
- The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*. Edited by SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E. Vol. III.
- William Lockerby's Journal in Fiji, 1808*. Edited by SIR EVERARD F. IM THURN, K.C.M.G., C.B., and L. C. WHARTON, B.A.
- The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti*. Edited by B. GLANVILL CORNEY, I.S.O. Vol. III and last.

INDEX

TO THE FIRST AND SECOND SERIES OF THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS, 1874-1916.

- Abd-er-Razzak, i. 22
 Abyssinia, i. 32, 64; ii. 10
 Acosta, Joseph de, i. 60, 61
 Acuña, Cristoval de, i. 24; ii. 22
 Adams, Will., i. 8, 66, 67; ii. 5
 Africa, i. 21, 58, 82, 83, 92-94, 95, 100
 Africa, East, i. 32, 35, 64; ii. 10
 Africa, West, ii. 6
 Aguirre, Lope de, i. 28, 47
 Alaminos Anton de, ii. 23
 Albuquerque, Affonso de, i. 53, 55, 62, 69
 Alcock, Thomas, i. 72, 73
 Alessandri, Vincentio d', i. 49
 Al Hassan Ibn Muhammad. *See* Hasan
 Alvarado, Pedro de, ii. 23
 Alvarez, Francisco, i. 64
 Alvo, Francisco, i. 52
 Amapaia, i. 3
 Amat y Junient, Manuel de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 13
 Amazon, i. 24
 America, Central, i. 40
 America, North, i. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21, 23, 43, 50, 65, 96, 97
 America, South, i. 3, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 45, 47, 51, 60, 61, 68, 76, 77, 80, 81, 91; ii. 3, 13, 14, 15, 22
 Amherst of Hackney, Lord, ii. 7, 8
 Andagoya, Pascual de, i. 34; ii. 22
 Andrew, Bishop of Zayton, i. 36; ii. 37
 Angiolello, Giovanni Maria, i. 49
 Angola, ii. 6
 Aquines, Juan. *See* Hawkins, Sir John
 Arabia, i. 32; ii. 16
 Arctic Regions, i. 13, 54, 88, 89, 96, 97
 Arias, Dr. Juan Luis, i. 25; ii. 14, 15
 Arias d'Avila, Pedro, i. 21, 34, 47; ii. 22, 23
 Arriaga y Rivera, Julian de, ii. 13
 Arromaia, i. 3
 Asher, George Michael, i. 27
 Asia, i. 5, 8, 13-15, 17, 19, 22, 26, 35-39, 42, 44, 49, 53-55, 58, 62, 66, 67, 69-78, 80, 82, 83, 87; ii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 35
 Astete, Miguel de, i. 47; ii. 22, 35
 Atahualpa, i. 47, 68; ii. 22
 Australasia, i. 25; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15, 18
 Avila, Francisco de, i. 48; ii. 22
 Avila, Pedro Arias d'. *See* Arias d'Avila
 Azov, i. 49
 Azurara, Gomes Eannes de. *See* Eannes
 Badger, George Percy, i. 32, 44
 Baffin, William, i. 5, 63, 88, 89
 Balak, John, i. 13, 54
 Bantam, i. 19
 Barbaro, Giosafat, i. 49
 Barbosa, Duarte, i. 35, 52
 Barcelona MSS., i. 35
 Bardsen, Ivar, i. 50
 Barentsz., William, i. 13, 27, 54
 Barker, Edmund, i. 56
 Barlow, R., i. 74, 75, 78
 Barrow, John, F.R.S., i. 11
 Battell, Andrew, ii. 6
 Beazley, Charles Raymond, i. 95, 100; Extra Ser. 13
 Behrens, Carl Friedrich, ii. 13
 Beke, Charles Tiltstone, i. 13, 54
 Bell, Harry Charles Purvis, i. 76, 77, 80
 Belmonte y Bermudez, Luis de, ii. 14, 15
 Bengal, i. 37, 74, 75, 78; ii. 12
 Bent, James Theodora, i. 87
 Benzoni, Girolamo, i. 21
 Bermudas, i. 65, 86
 Bermudez, Joao, ii. 10
 Beste, George, i. 38
 Béthencourt, Jean de, i. 46; ii. 21

- Bethune, Charles Ramsay Drink-water, i. 1, 30
 Beynen, Koolemans, i. 54
 Biedma, Luis Hernandez de, i. 9
 Bilot, Robert, i. 88, 89
 Birch, Walter de Gray, i. 53, 55, 62, 60
 Bollaert, William, i. 28
 Bond, Sir Edward Augustus, K.C.B., i. 20
 Bontier, Pierre, i. 46; ii. 21
 Boty, Iver, i. 13
 Bowrcy, Thomas, ii. 12
 Bracciolini, Poggio, i. 22
 Brazil, i. 51, 76, 77, 80
 Bridge, Admiral Sir Cyprian Arthur George, G.C.B., ii. 13
 British Guiana, ii. 26, 27
 British Museum MSS., i. 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 16, 20, 25, 38, 52, 53, 55, 62, 65-67, 69; ii. 13, 16, 22
 Brown, Dr. Robert, i. 92-94
 Brugge, Jacob Segersz. van der. *See* Segersz, Jacob
 Bruun, Philip, i. 58
 Burnell, Arthur Coke, C.I.E., i. 70, 71
 Burre, Walter, i. 19
 Burrough, Christopher, i. 72, 73
 Burrough William, i. 72, 73
 Burton, Sir Richard Francis, K.C.M.G., i. 51
 Butler, Nathaniel, i. 65, 86
 Button, Sir Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
 Bylot, Robert, i. 5, 63, 88, 89

 Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar Nuñez. *See* Nuñez Cabeça, de Vaca.
 Cabot, John, i. 86
 Cabot, Sebastian, i. 5, 12
 Cambodia, i. 39
Canarian, The, i. 46; ii. 21
 Canary Islands, i. 21, 46; ii. 21
 Candelaria, Our Lady of, ii. 21
 Cape of Good Hope, i. 22, 36, 37, 82, 83
 Carmont, Elizabeth, Extra Ser. 12
 Carpino Joannes, de Plano. *See* Joannes.
 Caspian Sea, i. 72, 73
 Cassano, Ussan, i. 49
 Castanhoso, Miguel de, ii. 10
 Castilla del Oro, i. 34, 47
 Cathay, i. 5, 13, 36-38, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37, 38, 41
 Champlain, Samuel, i. 23
 Chanca, Dr., i. 2, 43
 Charles V., Emperor, i. 40, 47; ii. 22, 23, 24
 Charnock, Job, i. 74, 75, 78
 Cheinie, Richard, i. 72, 73
 China, i. 5, 13-15, 17, 36, 37, 39, 54; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37
 Christy, Robert Miller, i. 88, 89
 Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, i. 33, 68; ii. 22, 31, 42
 Cinnamon, Land of, i. 24
 Clavigo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *See* Gonzalez de Clavigo.
 Cliffe, Edward, i. 16
 Clifford, George, i. 59
 Coats, William, i. 11
 Cocks, Richard, i. 8, 66, 67
 Cogswell, Joseph G., i. 27
 Collinson, Sir Richard, K.C.B., i. 38
 Columbus, Christopher: *Journal*, i. 86
Letters, i. 2, 43
 Congo, ii. 6
 Contarini, Ambrogio, i. 49
 Conti, Niccolò, i. 22
 Conway, Sir William Martin, ii. 11
 Cooley, William Desborough, i. 4
 Cook, Captain James, i. 25
 Coote, Charles Henry, i. 72, 73
 Cordier, Henri, ii. 33, 37, 38, 41
 Corney, Bolton, i. 19
 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, I.S.O., ii. 13, 32, 36
 Correa, Gaspar, i. 42
 Corte Real, Gaspar, i. 86
 Cortés, Hernando, i., 21, 40; ii. 23, 24, 25
 Cosmas, Indicopleustes, i. 98
 Covcl, John, i. 87
 Crosse, Ralph, i. 56
 Crooke, William, ii. 19, 20
 Cumberland, Earl of, i. 59
 Cuzco, i. 47; ii. 22

 Dalboquerque, Afonso. *See* Albuquerque.
 Dallam, Thomas, i. 87
 Dalrymple, Alexander, i. 25; ii. 14, 15
 Dampier, William, i. 25
 Danish Arctic Expeditions, i. 96, 97
 Darien, Gulf of, i. 33
 Dati, Giuliano, i. 2, 43
 Davila, Pedrarias. *See* Arias d'Avila.
 Davis, Edward, ii. 13
 Davis, John, i. 5, 59, 88, 89

- De Villiers, John Abraham Jacob, ii. 11, 18, 26, 27
 Diaz, Juan, *Clerigo*, ii. 23
 Diaz del Castillo, Bernal, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
 Digges, Sir Dudley, i. 63
 Dominguez, Don Luis L., i. 81
 Donck, Adrian van der, i. 27
 Dorado, El, i. 3, 28; ii. 26, 27
 Doughty, Thomas, i. 16
 Downton, Nicholas, i. 56
 Drake, Sir Francis, i. 4, 16; ii. 34
 Drake, Sir Francis, the Younger, i. 16
 Drake, John, ii. 34
 Dryandri, Joh., i. 51
 Duckot, Jeffroy, i. 72, 73
 Dudley, Sir Robert, ii. 3
 Dutch Voyages, i. 13; ii. 11, 13, 18
- East India, ii. 19, 20, 39
 East India Company, i. 5, 19
 East Indies. *See* India.
 Easter Island, ii. 13
 Eannes, Gomes, de Zurara, i. 95, 100
 Egerton MSS., ii. 13
 Eden, Richard, i. 12
 Edwards, Arthur, i. 72, 73
 Egypt, i. 32
 El Dorado, i. 3, 28; ii. 26, 27
 Ellesmere, Earl of, i. 17
 Elvas, Gentleman of, i. 9
 Emerica, i. 3
 England, Circumnavigation of, i. 79
 Engronelandia, i. 50
 Enriquez de Guzman, Alonzo, i. 29
 Eslanda, i. 50
 Espinosa, Alonso, de, ii. 21
 Estotilandia, i. 50
 Ethiopia. *See* Abyssinia.
 Europe, i. 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 49, 54
 58, 64, 72, 73, 79; ii. 9, 11, 17
- Ferguson, Donald William, ii. 9
 Fernandez de Quiros, Pedro de. *See* Quiros.
 Figueroa, Christoval Suarez de. *See* Suarez de Figueroa.
 Fletcher, Francis, i. 16
 Fletcher, Giles, i. 20
 Florida, i. 7, 9
 Fort St. George, i. 74, 75, 78
 Foster, William, B.A., ii. 1, 2, 16
 Fotherby, Robert, i. 63
 Fox, Luke, i. 5, 88, 89
 Foxe, Luke. *See* Fox.
- Frislanda, i. 50
 Frobisher, Sir Martin, i. 5, 38, 88, 89
 Fryer, John, ii. 19, 20, 39
 Furnace, H.M.S., i. 11
- Gairdner, James, i. 79
 Galvão, Antonio, i. 30
 Gama, Christovão da, ii. 10
 Gama, Vasco da, i. 42, 99
 Gamboa, Pedro Sarmiento de. *See* Sarmiento de Gamboa.
 Garcia, Genaro, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30
 Garcilasso de la Vega, *el Inca*, i. 24, 41, 45; ii. 22
 Gastaldi, Jacopo, i. 12
 Gatcombe, John, i. 63
 Gayangos, Pascual de, i. 40; ii. 22
 Gerritz, Hessel, i. 27, 54; ii. 11
 Gibbons, William, i. 5, 88, 89
 Gibraltar, Straits of, i. 79
 Globes, i. 79
God's Power & Providence, i. 18
 Goes, Benedict, i. 36, 37
 Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy, i. 26; ii. 21
 González y Haedo, Felipe, ii. 13
 Gosh, Christian Carl August, i. 96, 97
 Gray, Albert, K.C., i. 76, 77, 80
 Great Mogul, ii. 1, 2
 Greenland, i. 18, 50, 96, 97
 Grey, Charles, i. 49
 Grey, Edward, i. 84, 85
 Grijalva, Juan de, ii. 23
 Grimston, Edward. *See* Grimstone.
 Grimstone, Edward, i. 60, 61
 Gaunches, ii. 21
 Guiana, i. 3; ii. 3
 Guinea, i. 95, 100; ii. 6
- Hackitt, Thomas, i. 7
 Hakluyt, Richard:
 Divers Voyages, i. 7
 Galvano, i. 30
 Principall Navigations, i. 16, 20, 38, 59; Extra Ser., 1-12
 Terra Florida, i. 9
 Will of, i. 7
 Hall, James, i. 5, 88, 89, 96, 97
 Harleian MSS., i. 8
 Harris, C. A., ii. 26, 27
 Hasan Ibn Muhammad, al Wazzān, al Fāsi, i. 92-94
 Havers, George, i. 84, 85

- Hawkins, Sir John, i. 1, 57
 Hawkins, Sir Richard, i. 1, 57
 Hawkins, William, i. 57
 Hawkrige, William, i. 88, 89
 Hedges, Sir William, i. 74, 75, 78
 Heidelberg MS., i. 58
 Herberstein, Sigismund von., i. 10, 12
 Hernandez de Biedma, Luis, i. 9
 Herrera, Antonio de, i. 24; ii. 22, 23
 Hervé, Juan, ii. 13
 Honduras, i. 40
 Horsey, Sir Jerome, i. 20
 Houtman's Abrolhos, i. 25
 Howard, Eliot, ii. 12
 Hudson, Henry, i. 13, 27, 88, 89
 Hudson's Bay, i. 11, 96, 97
 Hues, Robert, i. 79
 Hugli River, i. 78; ii. 12
- Ibn Batuta, i. 36, 37
 Icaria, i. 50
 Imāms and Seyyids of 'Omān i. 44
 Incas, i. 41, 45, 47, 48; ii. 22
 Incas, Rites and Laws, i. 48; ii. 22
 Incas, Royal Commentaries, i. 41, 45; ii. 22
 India, i. 5, 22, 32, 38, 42, 53, 55, 56, 62, 69, 70, 71, 74-78, 80, 84, 85; ii. 1, 2, 9, 12, 16, 17
 India Office MSS., i. 5, 56, 66, 67
 Indian Language, Dictionary of the, i. 6
 Italy, ii. 9
- James I., i. 19
 James, Thomas, i. 5, 88, 89
 Janes, John, i. 59
 Japan, i. 8, 39, 66, 67; ii. 5
 Java, i. 82, 83
 Jeannin, P., i. 27
 Jenkinson, Anthony, i. 72, 73
 Joannes, de Plano Carpino, ii. 4; Extra Ser. 13
 Jones, John Winter, i. 7, 22, 32
 Jordanus [Catalani], i. 31, 36; ii. 37
 Jourdain, John, ii. 16
 Jovius, Paulus, i. 12
 Juet, Robert, i. 27
- Lambrechtsen, i. 27
 Lancaster, Sir James, i. 56
 La Peyrère, Isaac de, i. 18
 La Plata, City, i. 33
 La Plata, River, i. 81
 Lefroy, Sir John Henry, K.C.M.G., i. 65, 86
 Leguat, François, i. 82, 83
 Le Maire, Jacob, ii. 18
Lendas da Índia, i. 42
 Lco Africanus, i. 92-94
 Leone, Giovanni, i. 92-94
 Leupe, P. A., i. 25
 Levant, i. 87
 Le Verrier, Jean, i. 46; ii. 21
 Leza, Gaspar Gonzalez de, i. 39; ii. 14, 15
 Linschoten, Jan Huyghen van, i. 70, 71
- McCrindle, John Watson, i. 89
 Madras, i. 74, 75, 78
 Madrid MSS., i. 29
 Magellan, Ferdinand, i. 52
 Magellan, Straits, i. 91; ii. 18
 Major, Richard Henry, i. 2, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 25, 43, 46, 50
 Malay Archipelago, ii. 16, 18
 Malabar, i. 35
 Maldive Islands, i. 76, 77, 80
 Maluku Islands. *See* Molucca Islands.
 Manoa, i. 3
 Marignolli, John de', i. 37; ii. 37
 Markham, Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., i. 59
 Markham, Sir Clements Robert, K.C.B., i. 24, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34, 41, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 68, 79, 86, 90, 91; ii. 14, 15, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 42
 Martens, Friedrich, i. 18
 Maudslay, Alfred Percival, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
 Mauritius, i. 82, 83
 Maynarde, Thomas, i. 4
 Mendoza de Noyra, Alvaro, i. 25, 39; ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
 Mendoza, Juan Gonzalez de, i. 14, 15
 Mexico, i. 23; ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
 Michon, Marie, Extra Ser., 12, 33
 Middleton, Christopher, i. 11
 Middleton, Sir Henry, i. 19, 56
Mirabilia Descripta, i. 31
 Mogul, The Great, ii. 1, 2
 Molucca Islands, i. 19, 39, 52, 76, 77, 80
 Molyneux, Emery, i. 79
- Keeling, William, i. 56
 Knight, John, i. 5, 56, 88, 89

- Montecorvino, John of, i. 36 ; ii. 37
Montezuma, i. 61 ; ii. 23, 24
Morga, Antonio de, i. 39 ; ii. 14, 15
Morgan, Henry, i. 59
Morgan, Edward Delmar, i. 72, 73, 79, 83, 86
Mundy, Peter, ii. 17, 35
Munk, Jens, i. 96, 97
Münster, Sebastian, i. 12
Muscovy Company, i. 7, 63 ; ii. 11
- Neumann, Karl Friedrich, i. 58
New Hebrides, ii. 14, 15
New Spain, ii. 23, 24, 25, 30, 40
New World, i. 2, 43
Nicaragua, i. 34
Nicompolis, i. 58
Nikitin, Athanasius, i. 22
Nombre de Dios, i. 16
Norsemens in America, i. 2, 50
North-East Voyages, i. 13
North-West Passage, i. 5, 11, 38, 56, 88, 89, 96, 97
Northern Seas, i. 50
Nova Zembla, i. 13, 54
Núñez Cabeça de Vaca, Alvar, i. 81
Nuttall, Mrs. Zelia, ii. 34
- Ocampo, Baltasar de, ii. 22
Odoric, Friar, i. 36 ; ii. 33
Olaondo, Alberto, ii. 13
Olid, Cristóval de, ii. 23
Oliver, Samuel Pasfield, i. 82, 83
Omagua, i. 28
'Omán, i. 44
Ondegardo, Polo de, i. 48 ; ii. 22
Orellana, Francisco de, i. 24
Orléans, Pierre Joseph d', i. 17
Ormuz, Kings of, ii. 9
Oviedo, Gabriel de, ii. 22
- Pachacamac, i. 47 ; ii. 22
Pacific Ocean, i. 1, 34, 57 ; ii. 13, 18
Paraguay, River, i. 81
Parke, Robert, i. 14, 15
Pascal of Vittoria, i. 36 ; ii. 37
Pegolotti, i. 37 ; ii. 37
Pellham, Edward, i. 18
Pelsart, Francis, i. 25
Pereira, Thomas, i. 17
Persia, i. 32, 49, 72, 73 ; ii. 19, 20, 39
- Peru, i. 33, 34, 41, 45, 47, 60, 61, 68 ; ii. 22
Peru, Chronicle of, i. 33, 68
Philip, William, i. 13, 54
Philippine Islands, i. 39
Pigafetta, Antonio, i. 52
Pitt Diamond, i. 78
Pitt, Thomas, i. 74, 75, 78
Pizarro, Francisco, i. 27, 47 ; ii. 22
Pizarro, Gonzalo, i. 21, 24, 47 ; ii. 22
Pizarro, Hernando, i. 47 ; ii. 22
Pochahontas, i. 6
Pool, Gerrit Thomasz., i. 25
Portugal, i. 64 ; ii. 10
Pory, John, i. 92-94
Powhatan, i. 6
Prado y Tovar, Don Diego de, ii. 14, 15
Prestage, Edgar, i. 95, 100
Prester, John, i. 64 ; ii. 10
Pricket Abacuk, i. 27
Public Record Office MSS., i. 38
Puerto Rico, i. 4
Purchas, Samuel, i. 13, 56, 63 ; Extra Ser. 14-33
Pyrard, François, i. 76, 77, 80
- Quatremère, i. 22
Quiros, Pedro Fernandez de, i. 25, 39 ; ii. 14, 15
Quito, The War of, ii. 31
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, i. 3
Raleigh, Walter, *Professor*, Extra Ser. 12
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, i. 49, 52
Rashiduddin, i. 37 ; ii. 37
Ravenstein, Ernest George, i. 99 ; ii. 6
Rawlinson MSS., ii. 17
Recueil de Voyages, i. 31
Remón, Alonzo, ii. 23
Ribault, John, i. 7
Rockhill, William Woodville, ii. 4
Rodriguez, Island, i. 82, 83
Roe, Sir Thomas, ii. 1, 2
Roggeveen, Jacob, ii. 13
Roy, Eugene Armand, i. 49
Rubruquis, Gulielmus de, ii. 4 ; Extra Ser. 13
Rundall, Thomas, i. 5, 8
Russe Commonwealth, i. 20
Russia, i. 10, 12, 20, 72, 73
Rye, William Brenchley, i. 9

- Salil-Ibn-Ruzaik, i. 44
 Samarcand, i. 26
 Sancho, Pedro, i. 47; ii. 22
 Santo-Stefano, Hieronimo di, i. 22
 Saria, John, i. 8; ii. 5
 Sariniento de Gamboa, Pedro, i. 91; ii. 22, 34
 Satow, Sir Ernest Mason, G.C.M.G., ii. 5
 Schiltberger, Johann, i. 58
 Schmidel, Ulrich, i. 81
 Schmidt, Ulrich. *See* Schmidel.
 Schomburgk, Sir Robert Hermann, i. 3
 Schouten, Willem Cornelisz., ii. 18
 Scory, Sir Edmund, ii. 21
Seaman's Secrets, i. 59
 Segersz., Jacob, ii. 11
 Sellman, Edward, i. 38
 Shaksperc's "New Map," i. 59
 Sharpeigh, Alexander, i. 56
 Shaw, Norton, i. 23
 Siam, i. 39
 Silva, Nuño da, ii. 34
 Simon, Pedro, i. 28
 Sinclair, William Frederic, ii. 9
 Sloane MSS., i. 25, 65; ii. 16
 Smith, Capt. John, i. 65, 86
 Smith, Sir Thomas, i. 19, 63, 65
 Smyth, William Henry, i. 21
 Solomon Islands, ii. 7, 8, 14, 15
 Soltania, Archbishop of, i. 36; ii. 37
 Somers, Sir George, i. 65
 Soto, Ferdinando de, i. 9, 47
 Soulsby, Basil Harrington, ii. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18
 Sousa Tavares, Francisco de, i. 30
 South Sea. *See* Pacific Ocean.
 Spanish MSS., i. 29, 48
 Spanish Voyages, i. 25, 39; ii. 7, 8, 13, 14, 15
 Speilbergen, Joris van, ii. 18
 Spitsbergen, i. 13, 18, 54; ii. 11
 Staden, Johann von, i. 51
 Stanley of Alderley, Lord, i. 35, 39, 42, 52, 64
 Staunton, Sir George Thomas, Bart., i. 14, 15
 Stere, William, i. 13
 Storm van 's Gravesandc, ii. 26, 27
 Strachey, William, i. 6
 Suarez de Figueroa, Christoval, i. 57; ii. 14, 15
 Summer Islands, i. 65, 86
 Syria, i. 32
 Tabasco, ii. 23
 Tahiti, ii. 13, 32, 36
 Tamerlane, The Great, i. 26
 Tana (Azov), i. 49
 Tapia, Andrés de, ii. 23
 Tartary, i. 17; ii. 1, 2, 4
 Tavares, Francisco de Sousa. *See* Sousa Tavares, F. de.
 Teixeira, Pedro, ii. 9
 Telfer, John Buchan, i. 58
 Temple, Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., ii. 12, 17, 35
 Tenerife, ii. 21
 Terra Australis, i. 25
 Terra Florida, i. 9
 Thomas, William, i. 49
 Thompson, Sir Edward Maunde, K.C.B., i. 66, 67
 Thomson, Basil Home, ii. 7, 8
 Thorne, Robert, i. 7
 Tibet, i. 36, 37; ii. 33
 Tiele, Pieter Anton, i. 70, 71
 Tierra Firme, i. 28, 34, 47
 Timour, Great Khan, i. 26
 Toledo, Francisco de, Viceroy of Peru, ii. 22
 Tootal, Albert, i. 51
Topographia Christiana, i. 98
 Torquemada, Fray Juan de, ii. 14, 15
 Torres, Luis Vaez de, i. 25, 39; ii. 14, 15
 Toscanelli, Paolo, i. 86
 Towerson, Gabriel, i. 19
Tractatus de Globis, i. 79
 Transylvanus Maximilianus, i. 52
 Tupac Amaru, Inca, ii. 22
 Turberville, George, i. 10
 Turkey Merchants, i. 87
 Ursua, Pedro de, i. 28, 47
 Valle, Pietro della, 84, 85
 Varthema Ludovico di, i. 19, 32
 Vaux, William Sandys Wright, i. 16
 Vaz, Lopez, i. 16
 Veer, Gerrit de, i. 13, 54
 Velasco, Don Luis de, ii. 34
 Volásquez, Diego, ii. 23
 Vera Cruz, ii. 23
 Verarzanus, John, i. 7, 27
 Verbiest, Ferdinand, i. 17
 Vespucci, Amerigo, i. 90
 Vilcapampa, ii. 22

- Virginia Britannia, i. 6
 Vivero y Velasco, Rodrigo de, i. 8
 Vlamingh, Willem de, i. 25
 Volkersen, Samuel, i. 25

 Warner, George, Frederic, Litt. D.,
 ii. 3
 Weigates, Straits of, i. 13, 54
 West Indies, i. 4, 23; ii. 3, 23
 Weymouth, George, i. 5, 88, 89
 White, Adam, i. 18
 Whiteway, Richard Stephen, ii. 10
 Wielhorsky, i. 22
 William of Rubruck. *See* Rubru-
 quis, Gulielmus de
 Wilmere, Alice, i. 23
 Winter, John, i. 16
 Witsen, Nicolaas, i. 17, 25
 Wolstenholme, Sir John, i. 63, 88,
 89

*World's Hydrographical Descrip-
 tion*, i. 59
 Wright, Edward, i. 59

 Xeres, Francisco de, i. 47; ii. 22

 Yncas. *See* Incas
 Yucatan, ii. 23
 Yule, Sir Henry, K.C.S.I., i. 31, 36,
 37, 74, 75, 78; ii. 19, 20, 33, 37,
 38, 41

 Zarate, Don Francisco de, ii. 34
 Zeno, Antonio, i. 50
 Zeno, Caterino, i. 49
 Zeno, Nicolo, i. 50
 Zychman, i. 51

LAWS OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

I. *The object of this Society shall be to print, for distribution among the members, rare and valuable Voyages, Travels, Naval Expeditions, and other geographical records.*

II. *The Annual Subscription shall be One Guinea (for America, five dollars, U.S. currency), payable in advance on the 1st January.*

III. *Each member of the Society, having paid his Subscription, shall be entitled to a copy of every work produced by the Society, and to vote at the general meetings within the period subscribed for; and if he do not signify, before the close of the year, his wish to resign, he shall be considered as a member for the succeeding year.*

IV. *The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in a Council consisting of twenty-two members, viz., a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and sixteen ordinary members, to be elected annually; but vacancies occurring between the general meetings shall be filled up by the Council.*

V. *A General Meeting of the Subscribers shall be held annually. The Secretary's Report on the condition and proceedings of the Society shall be then read, and the meeting shall proceed to elect the Council for the ensuing year.*

VI. *At each Annual Election, three of the old Council shall retire.*

VII. *The Council shall meet when necessary for the dispatch of business, three forming a quorum, including the Secretary; the Chairman having a casting vote.*

VIII. *Gentlemen preparing and editing works for the Society shall receive twenty-five copies of such works respectively.*

LIST OF MEMBERS.—1917.*

Members are requested to inform the Hon. Secretary of any errors or alterations in this List.

- 1899 Aberdare, The Right Hon. Lord, 83, Eaton Square, S.W.1.
 1847 Aberdeen University Library, Aberdeen.
 1913 Abraham, 2nd Lieut. H. C., 12 Malvern Road, Gillingham, Kent.
 1895 Adelaide Public Library, North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1847 Admiralty, The, Whitehall, S.W.1. [2 COPIES.]
 1847 Advocates' Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 1847 All Souls College, Oxford.
 1847 American Geographical Society, 11, West 81st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1901 Andrews, Capt. F., R.N., H.M. Dockyard, Malta.
 1906 Andrews, Michael C., Esq., 17, University Square, Belfast.
 1847 Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1909 Armstrong, Capt. B. H. O., R.E.
 1847 Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1847 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1912 Aylward, R. M., Esq., 7a, Avenida Sur, No. 87, Guatemala.
 1899 Baer, Joseph & Co., Messrs., Hochstrasse 6, Frankfort-on-Main, Germany.
 1847 Bagram, John Ernest, Esq., 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.
 1909 Baldwin, Stanley, Esq., M.P., Astley Hall, nr. Stourport.
 1899 Ball, John B., Esq., Ashburton Cottage, Putney Heath, S.W.15.
 1893 Barclay, Hugh Gurney, Esq., Colney Hall, Norwich.
 1911 Barwick, G. F., Esq., British Museum, W.C.1.
 1899 Basset, M. René, Directeur de l'Ecole Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger, Villa Louise, rue Denfert Rochereau, Algiers.
 1894 Baxter, Hon. James Phinney Esq., 61, Doering Street, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.
 1913 Beaumont, Major, H., Rhoscolyn, Holyhead, N. Wales.
 1904 Bectem, Charles Gilbert, Esq., 110, South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa., U.S.A.
 1899 Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Donegall Square North, Belfast.
 1913 Belfield, T. Broom, Esq., 1905, Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 1896 Belhaven and Stenton, Col. The Right Hon. the Lord, R.E., 41, Lennox Gardens, S.W.1. (*Vice-President*).
 1913 Bennett, Ira A. Esq., Editor *Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1847 Berlin Geographical Society (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde), Wilhelmstrasse 23, Berlin, S.W., 48.
 1847 Berlin, the Royal Library of, Opernplatz, Berlin, W.
 1847 Berlin University, Geographical Institute of, Georgenstrasse 34-36 Berlin, N.W.7.
 1914 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii Island.
 1913 Beuf, L., 6, Via Caroli, Genoa.
 1913 Bewsher, F. W., Esq.
 1911 Bingham, Professor Hiram, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
 1899 Birmingham Central Free Library, Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.

* Sent to press, Jan. 1st., 1918.

- 1847 Birmingham Old Library, The, Margaret Street, Birmingham.
 1910 Birmingham University Library.
 1899 Board of Education, The Keeper, Science Library, Science Museum,
 South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1847 Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 1917 Bombay University Library, Bombay.
 1894 Bonaparte, H. H. Prince Roland Napoléon, Avenue d'Jéna 10, Paris.
 1847 Boston Athenæum Library, 10½, Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1847 Boston Public Library, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1912 Bourke, Hubert, Esq., Felthames, Harlow, Essex.
 1899 Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.
 1894 Bower, Major-General Hamilton, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing
 Cross, S.W.1.
 1912 Boyd-Richardson, Lieutenant S. B., R.N., Wade Court, Havant,
 Hants.
 1914 Braislin, Dr. William C., 425 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn, U.S.A.
 1906 Brereton, The Rev. William, c/o S.P.G., 15, Tufton Street, Westmin-
 ster, S.W.1.
 1893 Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion, Church Street, Brighton.
 1890 British Guiana Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society, George-
 town, Demarara.
 1847 British Museum, Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities.
 1847 British Museum, Department of Printed Books.
 1896 Brock, Henry G., Esq., 1612, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.,
 U.S.A.
 1909 Brooke, John Arthur, Esq., J.P., Fenay Hall, Huddersfield.
 1899 Brookline Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Brooklyn Mercantile Library, 197, Montague Street, Brooklyn, N.Y.,
 U.S.A.
 1899 Brown, Arthur William Whateley, Esq., 62, Carlisle Mansions, Car-
 lisle Place, Victoria Street, S.W.1.
 1916 Browne, Prof. Edward G., M.A., M.B., Firwood, Trumpington Road,
 Cambridge.
 1896 Buda Pesth, The Geographical Institute of the University of, Hungary.
 1910 Buenos Aires, Biblioteca Nacional (c/o E. Terquem, 19, Rue Scribe,
 Paris).
 1890 Burns, Capt. John William, Leesthorpe Hall, Melton Mowbray.
 1914 Byers, Gerald, Esq., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.
 1913 Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N., Hatherop Castle, Fairford,
 Gloucestershire.
 1903 California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
 1847 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
 1911 Canada, Department of the Naval Service, Ottawa.
 1847 Canada, The Parliament Library, Ottawa.
 1896 Cardiff Public Library, Trinity Street, Cardiff.
 1847 Carlisle, Rosalind, Countess of, Castle Howard, York.
 1847 Carlton Club Library, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1899 Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
 1914 Casserly, John Bernard, Esq., San Mateo, California, U.S.A.
 1910 Cattarns, Richard, Esq., 7, Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
 1899 Chambers, Captain Bertram Mordaunt, R.N., c/o Messrs. Cocks,
 Biddulph and Co., 43, Charing Cross, S.W.1.
 1910 Chapelot et Cie., 30, Rue et Passage Dauphine, Paris.
 1913 Charleston Library, Charleston, U.S.A.
 1910 Chicago, Geographical Society of, P.O. Box 223, Chicago.
 1899 Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Chicago University Library, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

- 1896 Christ Church, Oxford.
 1847 Christiania University Library, Christiania, Norway.
 1899 Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1907 Clark, Arthur H., Esq., Caxton Buildings, Cleveland, Ohio.
 1913 Clark, James Cooper, Esq., Ladyhill House, Elgin, N.B.
 1913 Clarke, Sir Rupert, Bart., Clarke Buildings, Bourke Street, Melbourne.
 1903 Clay, John, Esq., University Press and Burrell's Corner, Cambridge.
 1917 Clements, R. V., Esq., 3, Chapel Field North, Norwich.
 1913 Coates, O. R., Esq., British Consulate-General, Shanghai.
 1847 Colonial Office, The, Downing Street, S.W.1.
 1899 Columbia University, Library of, New York, U.S.A.
 1896 Conway, Sir William Martin, Allington Castle, Maidstone, Kent.
 1903 Cooke, William Charles, Esq., Yailima, Bishopstown, Cork.
 1847 Copenhagen Royal Library (Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek), Copenhagen.
 1894 Cora, Professor Guido, M.A., Via Nazionale, 181, Rome.
 1847 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A.
 1903 Corney, Bolton Glanvill, Esq., I.S.O., 4 Clarges Street, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1899 Corning, C. R., Esq., 36 Wall Street, New York.
 1893 Cow, John, Esq., Elfinward, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
 1902 Cox, Alexander G., Esq., Engineer-in-Chief's Office, Canton-Hankow Railway, Hankow, China.
 1908 Crowdon, W., Esq., J.P., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1904 Croydon Public Libraries, Central Library, Town Hall, Croydon.
 1893 Curzon of Kedleston, The Right Hon. Earl, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W.1.
 1911 Cutting, Lady Sybil, c/o the Earl of Desart, 2, Rutland Gardens, S.W.7.
 1913 Dalglish, Percy, Esq., Guatemala, C.A.
 1847 Dalton, Rev. Canon John Neale, C.V.O., O.M.G., 4, The Cloisters, Windsor.
 1913 Dames, Mansell Longworth, Esq., Crichmere, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.
 1899 Dampier, Gerald Robert, Esq., I.C.S., Dehra Dun, N.W.P., India.
 1847 Danish Royal Navy Library (Marinens Bibliothek), Grønningen, Copenhagen, K.
 1912 Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.
 1908 Darwin, Major Leonard, late R.E., 12, Egerton Place, S.W.3.
 1894 De Bertodano, Baldemero Hyacinth, Esq., Cowbridge House, Malmesbury, Wilts.
 1911 Delbanco, D., Esq., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.3.
 1899 Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A.
 1893 Dijon University Library, Rue Monge, Dijon, Côte d'Or, France.
 1899 Dresden Geographical Society (Verein für Erdkunde), Kleine Brüdergasse 21^{II}, Dresden.
 1902 Dublin, Trinity College Library.
 1910 Dunn, J. H., Esq., Coombe Cottage, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
 1917 Durban Municipal Library, Natal (Mr. George Reyburn, Librarian).
 1899 École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo Chine Française.
 1913 École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.
 1905 Edge-Partington, J., Esq., Wyngates, Burke's Rd., Beaconsfield.
 1892 Edinburgh Public Library, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh.
 1847 Edwards, Francis, Esq., 83, High Street, Marylebone, W.1.
 1913 Eliot, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., The University, Hong Kong.

- 1906 Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
 1917 Essex Institute, The, Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1917 Evans, J. Fred, Esq., 219K. Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
 1912 Ewing, Arthur, Esq.

 1910 Fairbrother, Colonel W. T., C.B., Indian Army, Bareilly, N.P., India.
 1911 Fayal, The Most Noble the Marquis de, Lisbon.
 1899 Fellowes Athenæum, 46, Millmont Street Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1894 Fisher, Arthur, Esq., The Mazry, Tiverton, Devon.
 1896 Fitzgerald, Major Edward Arthur, 5th Dragoon Guards.
 1914 FitzGibbon, F. J., Esq., Casilla 179, Oruro, Bolivia, via Panama.
 1847 Foreign Office of Germany (Auswärtiges Amt), Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, W.
 1893 Forrest, George William, Esq., C.I.E., Rose Bank, Iffley, Oxford.
 1902 Foster, Francis Apthorp, Esq., Edgartown, Mass., U.S.A.
 1893 Foster, William, Esq., C.I.E., India Office, S.W.1.

 1911 Garcia, Señor Genaro, Apartado 337, Mexico D.F.
 1913 Gardner, Harry G., Esq., Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, Hankow, China.
 1847 George, Charles William, Esq., 51, Hampton Road, Bristol.
 1901 Gill, William Harrison, Esq., Marunouchi, Tokyo.
 1847 Glasgow University Library, Glasgow.
 1913 Glyn, The Hon. Mrs. Maurice, Albury Hall, Much Hadham.
 1880 Godman, Frederick Du Cane, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., 45, Pont Street, S.W.1.
 1847 Göttingen University Library, Göttingen, Germany.
 1914 Gottschalk, Hon. A. L. M., American Consul-General, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
 1877 Gray, Albert, Esq., C.B., K.C. (President), Catherine Lodge, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.3.
 1903 Greenlee, William B., Esq., 855, Buena Av., Chicago Ill., U.S.A.
 1899 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1847 Guildhall Library, E.C.2.
 1887 Guillemard, Francis Henry Hill, Esq., M.A., M.D., The Old Mill House, Trumpington, Cambridge.

 1910 Hackley Public Library, Muskegon, Mich, U.S.A.
 1847 Hamburg Commerce, Bibliothek, Hamburg, Germany.
 1901 Hammersmith Public Libraries, Carnegie (Central) Library, Hammersmith, W.6.
 1898 Hannon, The Hon. Henry Arthur, The Hall, West Farleigh, Kent.
 1916 Harrington, S. T., Esq., M.A., Methodist College, St. John's, Newfoundland.
 1906 Harrison, Carter H., Esq., 408 Briar Place, Chicago, U.S.A.
 1913 Harrison, George L., Esq., 400, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
 1905 Harrison, William P., Esq., c/o The First National Bank, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1847 Harvard University, Cambridge Mass., U.S.A.
 1899 Harvie-Brown, John Alexander, Esq., Dunipace, Larbert, Stirling-shire.
 1913 Hay, E. Alan, Esq., 14 Kensington Court, W.8.
 1887 Heawood, Edward, Esq., M.A., Church Hill, Merstham, Surrey (Treasurer).
 1899 Heidelberg University Library, Heidelberg (Koestersche Buchhandlung).
 1904 Henderson, George, Esq., 13, Palace Court, W.2.

- 1915 Henderson, Capt. R. Ronald, Little Compton Manor, Moreton-in-Marsh.
- 1899 Hiersemann, Herr Karl Wilhelm. Königsstrasse, 3, Leipzig.
- 1917 Hinks, Arthur Robert, Esq., F.R.S. Sec. R.G.S., 17, St. Petersburg Place, W.2.
- 1874 Hippisley, Alfred Edward, Esq., 8, Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, S.W.1.
- 1913 Holman, R.H. Esq., "Wynnstay," Putney Hill, S.W.15.
- 1913 Hong Kong University, c/o Messrs. Longmans & Co., 38, Paternoster Row, E.C.4.
- 1899 Hoover, Herbert Clarke, Esq., The Red House, Hornton Street, Kensington, W.8.
- 1887 Horner, Sir John Francis Fortescue, K.C.V.O., Mells Park, Frome, Somerset.
- 1911 Hoskins, G. H., Esq., c/o G. & C. Hoskins, Wattle Street, Ultimo, Sydney, N.S.W.
- 1915 Howland, S. S., Esq., Ritz Hotel, W.1.
- 1890 Hoyt Public Library, East Saginaw, Mich., U.S.A.
- 1909 Hubbard, H. M., Esq., 116, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.1.
- 1899 Hügel, Baron Anatole A. A. von, Curator, Museum of Archæology and Ethnology, Cambridge.
- 1894 Hull Public Libraries, Baker Street, Hull.
- 1913 Humphreys, John, Esq.
- 1915 Hyde, Charles, Esq., 2 Woodbourne Road, Edgbaston.
- 1912 Illinois. University of, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1899 Im Thurn, Sir Everard, K.C.M.G., C.B., 39, Laxham Gardens, W.8.
- 1847 India Office, Downing Street, S.W.1. [8 copies.]
- 1899 Ingle, William Bruncker, Esq., 10 Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.3.
- 1892 Inner Temple, Hon. Society of the Temple, E.C.4.
- 1916 Ireland, National Library of, Dublin.
- 1899 Jackson, Stewart, Douglas, Esq., 61, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.
- 1898 James, Arthur Curtiss, Esq., 39, East 69th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1896 James, Walter B., Esq., M.D., 7, East 70th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1912 Jenkins, Captain F. W. R., Apartado 331, Guatemala.
- 1907 Johannesburg Public Library, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- 1847 John Carter Brown Library, 357, Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
- 1847 John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.
- 1847 John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
- 1910 Jones, L. C. Esq., M.D., Falmouth, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1914 Jones, Livingstone, E., Esq., Germantown, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1913 Jowett, The Rev. Hardy, Ping Kiang, Hunan, China.
- 1903 Kansas University Library, Lawrence, Kans., U.S.A.
- 1917 Kay, Richard, Esq., 1 Brazil Street, Manchester.
- 1887 Keltie, Sir John Scott, LL.D., 1, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
- 1909 Kesteven, C. H., Esq., 2, Hungerford Street, Calcutta.
- 1899 Kiel, Royal University of, Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein.
- 1898 Kinder, Claude William, Esq., C.M.G., "Braeken," Churt, Nr. Farnham, Surrey.
- 1890 King's Inns, The Hon. Society of the, Henrietta Street, Dublin.
- 1899 Kitching, John, Esq., Oaklands, Queen's Road, Kingston Hill, S.W.15.
- 1912 Koebel, W. H., Esq., Author's Club, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.

- 1913 Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.
 1910 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie. The Hague.
- 1899 Langton, J. J. P., Esq., 802, Spruce Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1899 Larchmont Yacht Club, Larchmont, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1913 Laufer, Berthold, Esq., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
 1899 Leeds Library, 18, Commercial Street, Leeds.
 1899 Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
 1893 Leipzig, Library of the University of Leipzig.
 1912 Leland Stanford Junior University, Library of, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
 1912 Lind, Walter, Esq., 1° Calle, Guatemala, C.A.
 1847 Liverpool Free Public Library, William Brown Street, Liverpool.
 1896 Liverpool Geographical Society, 14, Hargreaves Buildings, Chapel Street, Liverpool.
 1899 Liverpool, University of Liverpool.
 1911 Loder, Gerald W. E., Esq., F.S.A., Wakehurst Place, Ardingly, Sussex.
 1899 Locscher, Messrs. J., and Co., Via Due Macelli, 88, Rome.
 1847 London Institution, 11, Finsbury Circus, E.C.2.
 1847 London Library, 12, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
 1899 London University, South Kensington, S.W.7.
 1895 Long Island Historical Society, Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1899 Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Lowrey, Joseph, Esq., The Hermitage, Loughton, Essex.
 1912 Luard, Major Charles Eekford, M.A., U.S.O., Indore, Central India.
 1880 Lucas, Sir Charles Prestwood, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., 65, St. George's Square, S.W.1.
 1895 Lucas, Frederic Wm., Esq., 21, Surrey Street, Strand, W.C.2.
 1912 Lukach, H. C., Esq., M.A., Government House, Cyprus.
 1898 Lydenberg, H. M., Esq., New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1880 Lyons University Library, Lyon, France.
 1899 Lyttleton-Annsley, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Lyttelton, K.C.V.O., Templemere, Otlands Park, Weybridge.
- 1899 Macrac, Charles Colin, Esq., 50 Holland Street, W.8.
 1908 Maggs Brothers, Messrs., 109, Strand, W.C.2.
 1847 Manchester Public Free Libraries, King Street, Manchester.
 1916 Manchester University (c/o J. E. Cornish, St. Ann's Square).
 1899 Manierre, George, Esq., 112w, Adams Street, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1880 Markham, Admiral Sir Albert Hastings, K.C.B., 19, Queen's Gate Place, S.W.7.
 1892 Marquand, Henry, Esq., Whitegates Farm, Bedford, New York, U.S.A.
 1899 Martelli, Ernest Wynne, Esq., 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2.
 1847 Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 1905 Maudslay, Alfred Percival, Esq., Morney Cross, Hereford.
 1899 McClurg, Messrs. A. C., & Co., 215-221, Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1914 Means, Philip A., Esq., 196, Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1913 Mensing, A. W. M., Esq., (Frederik Muller and Co.), Amsterdam.
 1901 Merriman, J. A., Esq., c/o T. M. Merriman, Esq., 96, Finchley Road, Hampstead, N.W.3.

- 1911 Messer, Allan E., Esq., 2, Lyall Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.1.
 1913 Meyendorff, Baron de, Ambassade de Russie, Madrid.
 1893 Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
 1899 Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan University Library, U.S.A.
 1904 Mikkelsen, Michael A., Esq., 610, South Fifth Avenue, Mt. Vernon,
 New York.
 1847 Mills, Colonel Dudley Acland, R.E., Droaks, Beaulieu, Hants.
 1912 Milward, Graham, Esq., 77, Colmore Row, Birmingham.
 1896 Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
 1895 Minneapolis Athenaeum, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
 1899 Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
 1899 Mitchell Library, 21, Miller Street, Glasgow.
 1899 Mitchell, Wm., Esq., 14, Forbesfield Road, Aberdeen.
 1902 Mombasa Club Library, Mombasa, c/o Messrs. Richardson & Co.,
 26, King Street, St. James', S.W.1.
 1899 Monson, The Right Hon. Lord, C.V.O., Burton Hall, Lincoln.
 1901 Moreno, Dr. Francisco J., La Plata Museum, La Plata, Argentine
 Republic.
 1893 Morris, Henry Cecil Low, Esq., M.D., The Steyne, Bognor, Sussex.
 1899 Morrison, George Ernest, Esq., M.D., H.B.M. Legation, Peking.
 1899 Morrison, James W., Esq., 200-206, Randolph Street, Chicago,
 Ill., U.S.A.
 1895 Moxon, Alfred Edward, Esq., The Hazells, Spencer Road, New
 Milton, Hants.
 1899 Mukhopadhyay, Hon. Sir Asutosh, Kt., C.S.I., D.Sc., LL.D., 77,
 Russa Road North, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.
 1847 Munich Royal Library (Kgl. Hof u. Staats-Bibliothek), Munich,
 Germany.
 1913 Natal Society's Library, Pietermaritzburg, S. Africa.
 1899 Nathan, Lt.-Col. Sir Matthew, G.C.M.G., R.E., The Albany, W.1.
 1891 Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.1.
 1909 Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A.
 1913 Needham, J. E., Esq., Bombay Club, Bombay.
 1880 Netherlands, Royal Geographical Society of the (Koninklijk Neder-
 landsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap), Singel 421, Amsterdam.
 1899 Netherlands, Royal Library of the, The Hague.
 1847 Newberry Library, The, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 1847 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, Westgate
 Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 1899 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, New Bridge Street, Newcastle-
 on-Tyne.
 1899 New South Wales, Public Library of, Sydney, N.S.W.
 1899 New York Athletic Club, Central Park, South, New York City,
 U.S.A.
 1895 New York Public Library, 40, Lafayette Place, New York City,
 U.S.A.
 1847 New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A.
 1891 New York Yacht Club, 37 West 44 Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 1897 New Zealand, The High Commissioner for, 13, Victoria Street,
 S.W.1.
 1917 Nicoll, Lieut., C. L. J., Royal Indian Marine, c/o Director R.I.M.,
 Bombay.
 1911 Nijhoff, Martinus, The Hague, Holland.
 1896 North Adams Public Library, Massachusetts, U.S.A.
 1893 Northcliffe, The Right Hon. Lord, Elmwood, St. Peter's, Thanet.
 1917 Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1899 Nottingham Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.

- 1916 Ober, John Hambleton, Esq., Charles and Saratoga Streets, Baltimore Ind., U.S.A.
- 1890 Oriental Club, 18, Hanover Square, W.1.
- 1902 Otani, Kozui, Esq., Nishi Honganji, Horikawa, Kyoto, Japan.
- 1899 Oxford and Cambridge Club, 71, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
- 1847 Oxford Union Society, Oxford.
- 1911 Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.
- 1847 Paris, Institut de France, Quai de Conti 23, Paris.
- 1899 Parlett, Harold George, Esq., H.B.M. Consulate, Dairen, Japan.
- 1880 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
- 1847 Peekover of Wisbech, The Right Hon. Lord, Bank House, Wisbech (Vice-President).
- 1893 Peck, Sir Wilfred, Bart., c/o Mr. Grover, Rousdon, Lyme Regis.
- 1904 Peirce, Harold, Esq., 222, Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1911 Penrose, R. A. F., Esq., Bullitt Buildings, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 1899 Pequot Library, Southport, Conn., U.S.A.
- 1913 Petersen, V., Esq., Chinese Telegraph Administration, Peking, China.
- 1880 Petherick, Edward Augustus, Esq., Commonwealth Library, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1895 Philadelphia Free Library, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1899 Philadelphia, Library Company of, N.W. corner Juniper & Locust Streets, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1899 Philadelphia, Union League Club, 8, Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1899 Philadelphia, University Club, 1510, Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1909 Plymouth, Officers' Library, Royal Marine Barracks.
- 1899 Plymouth Proprietary and Cottonian Library, Cornwall Street, Plymouth.
- 1899 Portico Library, 57, Mosley Street, Manchester.
- 1917 Powell, J. W. D., Esq., Lieut. R.N.R., H.M.S. "Irene Wray," Naval Base, Lowestoft.
- 1916 Princeton University Library, Princeton (N.J.), U.S.A.
- 1912 Provincial Library of British Columbia, Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1911 Pykett, The Rev. G. F., Anglo-Chinese School, Methodist Epis. Mission, Penang.
- 1894 Quaritch, Bernard, Esq., 11, Grafton Street, New Bond Street, W.1. (12 COPIES).
- 1913 Queen's University, The, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
- 1913 Quincey, Edmund de Q., Esq., Oakwood, Chislehurst.
- 1890 Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore.
- 1914 Rawson Lieut. G., Royal Indian Marine, Bombay.
- 1847 Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
- 1895 Rhodes, Josiah, Esq., The Elms, Lytham, Lancashire.
- 1907 Ricketts, D. P., Esq., Imperial Chinese Railways, Tientsin, China.
- 1882 Riggs, T. L., Esq., 1311, Mass. Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1911 Rio de Janeiro, Archivo Publico Nacional, Sa da Republica, No. 26.
- 1917 Robertson, Wheatley B., Esq., c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Sons, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1917 Rodger, A., Esq., F.L.S., Rossendale, Maymyo, Burma.
- 1906 Rotterdamsch Leeskabinet, Rotterdam.
- 1917 Routledge, W. S., Esq., 9 Cadogan Mansions, Sloane Square, S.W.1.
- 1911 Royal Anthropological Institute, 50, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
- 1847 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.

- 1896 Royal Cruising Club, 1, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.1.
 1847 Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham.
 1847 Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W.7.
 1890 Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.
 1897 Royal Societies Club, 63, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
 1847 Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.1.
 1899 Runciman, The Right Hon. Walter, M.P., Doxford, Chathill, Northumberland.
 1904 Ruxton, Captain Upton Fitz Herbert, Little Drove House, Singleton, Sussex.
 1900 Ryley, John Horton, Esq., 8, Rue d'Autcuil, Paris.
 San Antonio, Scientific Society of, 1 and 3, Stevens Buildings, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A.
 1899 St. Andrews University, St. Andrews.
 1899 St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Flintshire, N. Wales.
 1890 St. Louis Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1899 St. Martin-in-the-Fields Free Public Library, 115, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2.
 1847 St. Petersburg University Library, St. Petersburg.
 1894 St. Wladimir University, Kiev, Russia.
 1911 Saise, Walter, Esq., D.Sc., M. Inst. C.E., Stapleton, Bristol.
 1913 Salby, George, Esq., 65, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. [2 COPIES.]
 1899 San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
 1899 Selater, Dr. William Lutley, 10, Sloane Court, S.W.1.
 1899 Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A.
 1894 Seymour, Admiral of the Fleet the Right Hon. Sir Edward Hobart, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., LL.D., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.1. (Vice-President).
 1898 Sheffield Free Public Libraries, Surrey Street, Sheffield.
 1914 Sheppard, S. T., Esq., Byculla Club, Bombay, No. 8.
 1847 Signet Library, 11, Parliament Square, Edinburgh.
 1890 Sinclair, Mrs. William Frederic, 102, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.10.
 1910 Skimming, E. H. B., Esq., 6, Cleveland Terrace, W.2.
 1913 Skinner, Major R. M., R.A.M. Corps, c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., 3, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
 1912 Skipper, Mervyn G., Esq., care of Eastern Extensions Tel. Co., Electra House, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2.
 1904 Smith, John Langford, Esq., H. B. M. Consular Service, China, c/o E. Greenwood, Esq., Frith Knowl, Elstree.
 1906 Smith, J. de Berniere, Esq., 4, Gloucester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
 1917 Smith, Miss D. Lawrence, 31, Portman Square, W.1.
 1913 Smith, The Right Hon. James Parker, Linburn, Kirkcubright, Midlothian.
 1899 Società Geografica Italiana, Via del Plebiscito 102, Rome.
 1847 Société de Géographie, Boulevard St. Germain, 184, Paris.
 1899 South African Public Library, Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town, South Africa.
 1904 Stanton, John, Esq., High Street, Chorley, Lancashire.
 1916 Stein, Sir Aurel. K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.Litt., Stein Collection, British Museum, W.C.1.
 1912 Stein, Herr Johann, K. Ungar, Universitäts-Buchhandlung, Kolozsvár, Hungary.
 1847 Stevens, Son, and Stiles, Messrs. Henry, 39, Great Russell Street, W.C.1.
 1847 Stockholm, Royal Library of (Kungl. Biblioteket), Sweden.

- 1895 Stockton Public Library, Stockton, Cal., U.S.A.
 1905 Storer, Albert H., Esq., Ridgefield, Ct., U.S.A.
 1890 Strachey, Lady, 6 Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.3.
 1904 Suarez, Colonel Don Pedro (Bolivian Legation), Santa Cruz, 74,
 Compayne Gardens, N.W.6.
 1909 Swan, J. D. C., Dr., c/o Messrs. Holt & Co., 3, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
 1908 Sydney, University of, New South Wales.
 1899 Sykes, Brigadier General, Sir Percy Molesworth, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.,
 Broadway.
 1916 Soutter, Lieut.-Commander James J., H.M.S. Malaya, c/o G.P.O.

 1914 Taylor, Frederic W., Esq., 1529, Niagara Street, Denver, Colorado,
 U.S.A.
 1917 Taylour, Charles, Esq., Belmont Road, Sharples, Lancs.
 1910 Telcki, Count Paul, Jozsef-tér., 7, Budapest V.
 1899 Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., The
 Nash, nr. Worcester.
 1916 Thompson, Lieut. H. H., R.N.V.R., R. N. Airship Station, Anglesey.
 1894 Thomson, Basil Home, Esq., C.B., 81, Victoria Road, Kensington, W.8.
 1906 Thomson, Colonel Charles FitzGerald, late 7th Hussars, Kilkenny
 House, Sion Hill, Bath.
 1915 Thorne, J. A., Esq., I.C.S., Calicut, Malabar, India.
 1904 Todd, Commander George James, R.N., The Manse, Kingsbarns, Fife.
 1896 Toronto Public Library, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
 1890 Toronto University, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
 1911 Tower, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., British Legation, Buenos
 Aires.
 1847 Travellers' Club, 106, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
 1899 Trinder, Arnold, Esq., River House, Walton-on-Thames.
 1913 Trinder, W. H., Esq., The Old Vicarage, Kingswood, Surrey.
 1847 Trinity College, Cambridge.
 1847 Trinity House, The Hon. Corporation of, Tower Hill, E.C.3.
 1911 Tuckerman, Paul, Esq., 59, Wall Street, New York, U.S.A.
 1916 Tufts College Library, Tufts College, Mass., U.S.A.
 1890 Turnbull, Alexander H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand.
 1902 Tweedy, Arthur H., Esq., Widmore Lodge, Widmore, Bromley, Kent.

 1847 United States Congress, Library of, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 1899 United States National Museum (Library of), Washington, D.C.,
 U.S.A.
 1847 United States Naval Academy Library, Annapolis, Md., U.S.A.
 1916 University Club Library, Fifth Avenue and 54th Street, New York,
 U.S.A.
 1847 Upsala University Library, Upsala, Sweden (c/o Simpkin, Marshall).

 1911 Van Ortoy, Professor F., Université de Gand, Belgium.
 1913 Vasquez, Señor Don Ricardo, Guatemala, C.A.
 1899 Vernon, Roland Venables, Esq., c/o Ministry of Munitions, Whitehall,
 Gardens, S.W.1.
 1899 Victoria, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of, Mel-
 bourne, Australia.
 1847 Vienna Imperial Library (K. K. Hof-Bibliothek), Vienna.
 1905 Vienna, K. K. Geographische Gesellschaft, Wollzeile 33, Vienna.
 1887 Vignaud, Henry, Esq., LL.D., 2, Rue de la Mairie, Bagneux (Seine),
 France.
 1912 Villa, Dr. F. Luis de, Banco Colombiano, Guatemala, C.A.
 1909 Villiers, J. A. J. de, Esq., British Museum (*Hon. Secretary*) (2).

- 1901 Wagner, Herrn H., and E. Debes, Geographische Anstalt, Brüderstrasse, 23, Leipzig.
- 1902 War Office, Mobilisation and Intelligence Library, Whitehall, S.W.1.
- 1847 Washington, Department of State, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1847 Washington, Library of Navy Department, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- 1890 Watanabe, Chiharu, Esq., 4 Shimotakanawamachi, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.
- 1899 Watkinson, Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
- 1899 Weld, Rev. George Francis. Weldwold, Santa Barbara, California.
- 1899 Westaway, Engineer Rear-Admiral Albert Ernest Luscombe, 36, Granada Road, Southsea.
- 1913 Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, U.S.A.
- 1898 Westminster School, Dean's Yard, S.W.1.
- 1913 White, James, Esq., Commission of Conservation, Ottawa.
- 1914 White, John G., Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1893 Whiteway, Richard Stephen, Esq., Browncombe, Shottermill, Surrey.
- 1910 Wihlfahrt, E., Esq.
- 1914 Willard, A. F., Esq., Lloyd's Agency, Livingston, Guatemala.
- 1899 Williams, O. W., Esq., Fort Stockton, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1914 Williams, Sidney Herbert, Esq., 32, Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
- 1895 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A.
- 1913 Wood, Henry A. Wise, Esq., 1, Madison Avenue, New York.
- 1900 Woodford, Charles Morris, Esq., C.M.G., The Grinstead, Partridge Green, Sussex.
- 1907 Woolf, Leonard Sidney, Esq.
- 1899 Worcester, Massachusetts, Free Library, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1914 Wright, Dr. J. Farrall, 46, Derby Street, Bolton, Lancs.
- 1913 Wright, R., Esq., The Poplars, Worsley Road, Swinton, Lancs.
- 1847 Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
- 1894 Young, Alfalfa, Esq., Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
- 1847 Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, Zürich, Switzerland.

